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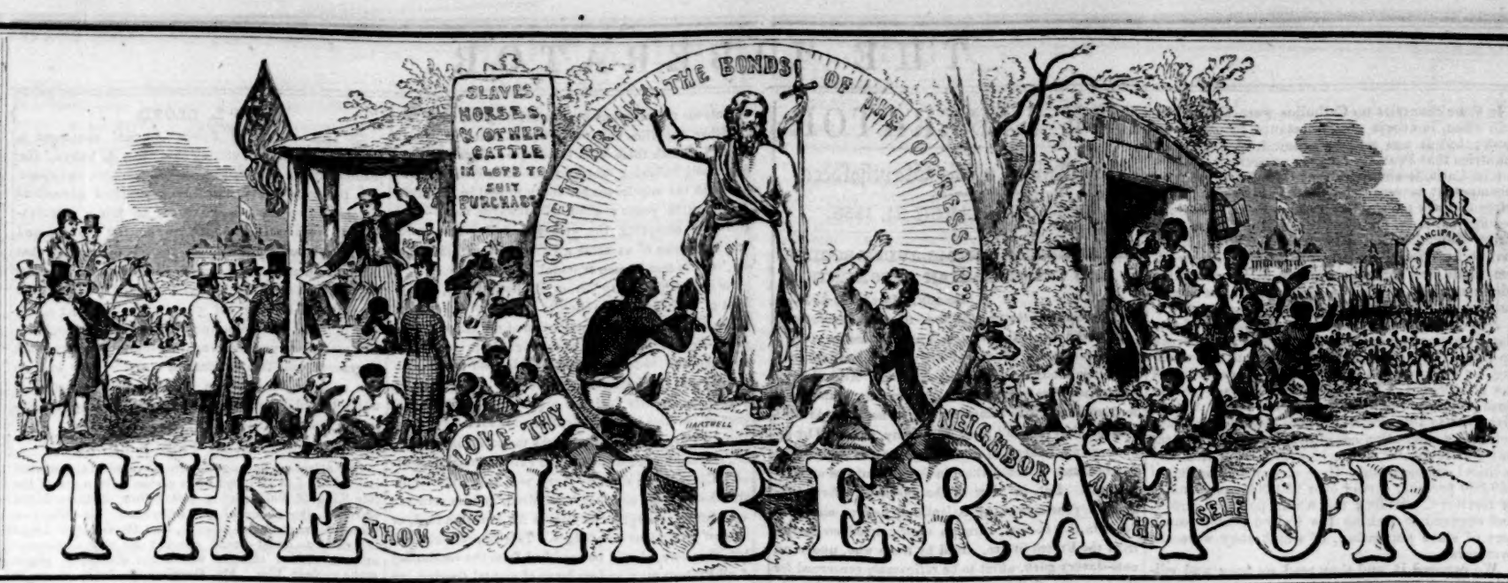
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSOR
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
IMMACIPATION
THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

NO MORE SLAVE STATES.

The more we reflect upon the unprincipled rapacity of the North, in attempting to seize upon the whole public Territory and to exclude slaveholders therefrom, the more we are astounded at the iniquity and suicidal folly of their conduct. So far from the presence of Slavery being an obstacle to the immigration of Northerners to any State, it is a notorious fact, that a Northern man setting out in quest of a fortune almost universally either emigrates to the South, or goes into some business in which the raw material is made by slave labor, and manufactured articles sold to slave owners. Every neighborhood and store, south of Mason and Dixon's line contains Fortune-hunting Northerners, and is filled with Yankee notions. Teachers, Professors, Merchants, Lawyers, Showmen and Mountebanks, come South in shoals every season to share in the profits of Slavery. The much abused slaveholding South is the favorite resort of a hard pushed Yankee, thrown on his wits for a living. On his wits we say, for he is as averse to labor as any other.

Southerners often work in the field, and engage in all kinds of independent manual labor. But the *Yankee*, much as he lauds labor, is the last man in the world to undertake it, if he can possibly avoid it.

At home he manages for a trifle to command the labor of newly arrived emigrants. They build his roads, sweep his streets, till his fields and wait upon his table. At the South, by dint of his wits he shirks work, and manages to go halves with the master in the results of negro slave labor. The North's hatred to foreigners, slaveholders and slave States, is very unreasonable; since they are the subjects out of which Northerners extract a living, without resorting to hard work. Few Southerners migrate to an old free State. Free society fully established is the practical exclusion of all persons, as citizens, from slave society. The loose economy, improvidence and unsuspicious natures of men bred at the South, unfit them for the closefisted selfishness and keen encounter of wits practical in free States. Yet the North would appropriate to itself all the unsettled domain of the Republic. Who will feed and clothe these multitudinous free States! The Yankee wont work in the field; will neither raise grain nor cotton. The Southern negroes and emigrants to the North West now feed and clothe him. *But, unless he permits slavery greatly to expand, and immigration to increase, he must change his habits or starve.* That he will starve sooner than work is certain, for free society is now everywhere starving, and has been doing so more or less from its origin. Working in the field is the hardest and worst paid of all work, and free people who can choose their vocation show it, so that but for *Russia* and our Southern States, Western Europe and our North East must speedily perish.

The rich Prairies of the North West, scratched over once a year, chiefly by immigrants, do enable the North to make a little show of forming; but slovenly cultivation is fast exhausting them, and in a few generations the immigrant learns from the Yankee to shun work and live by his wits. Without a rapid extension of Slavery, and a great increase of immigration, a comparison of the census for fifty years of America and Europe shows that the North must starve to death and go naked. Slave labor throughout all ages has been the only available farming labor, and human nature is now just what it has ever been. The North is vitally interested in the extension of Slavery, and cannot for her life suggest a plausible argument against such extension.

As a matter of policy and humanity as well as of Christian duty, all patriots, good men and Christians, North and South, should protest against extending an inch a form of society that is only prolific of *crime*, hunger, nakedness, infidelity, revolution and civil war. 'It has become so much a habit of mind everywhere to look on universal liberty as a Good, and Slavery as an Evil, that even Southerners awakened to-day, to the *folly* and *falsity* of such opinions, unconsciously relapse into them tomorrow. Over and over again we have drawn the picture of free society. Again and again have we appealed to history, to statistics, and to the admissions even of abolitionists to sustain our assertions. Often have we defied contradiction.

Repeatedly have we asked the North, 'Has not the experiment of universal liberty *failed?* Are not the evils of free society insufferable! And do not most thinking men among you propose to subvert and reconstruct it?' Still no answer. This gloomy silence is another conclusive proof, added to many other conclusive evidences we had furnished, that free society in the *long run* is an impracticable form of society; it is everywhere starving, *demoralized, infidel, insurrectionary, moribund!* Living in its midst, Mr. Carlyle utters the thought of all, 'We must have a new world, if we are to have any world at all!'

Even we of the South were taught to revere this form of society which stands now a confessed failure. It is hard, *very hard*, to divest ourselves of early opinions. Hence the necessity on our part as faithful sentinels of the South to thunder these truths again and again in the ears of our people. The habits of their minds, the ruts in which their thoughts have been wont to run, render it very difficult to give constant and practical acceptance to the astounding facts, which history, statistics, and sociology are daily developing. We repeat then, that policy, humanity and Christianity alike *forbid the extension* of the evils of free society to new people and coming generations.—*Richmond Enq.*

LECTURE OF E. P. WHIPPLE.

'The course of Anti-Slavery lectures, or lectures on slavery as they were styled, was bro't to a close last week by a discourse from E. P. Whipple, Esq. The Tremont Temple was about half full, and the lecturer less at home than when discoursing upon literary subjects. The following from a full report of the lecture will give a general idea of Mr. W.'s moral views: "It should never be forgotten that slavery rests fundamentally upon the audacious, inhuman and self-evident lie that property can be held in man." It is not to be supposed that in this sentence the lecturer intended to deny the historical fact that property, according to human laws, has always been held in man. The facts of the Creator permitting the holding of such property, in certain cases, in the Old Testament, and of Paul's recognizing it in the New, by laying down rules to govern the master and servant, perhaps Mr. W. will be inclined to consider in connection with his assertion, that he may see clearly who has uttered "an audacious lie." One can say thus much by simply being true to the Bible, without justifying a single evil connected with slaveholding, or denying that slavery is to be ameliorated under the bright-shining light of the Gospel, and in the end suffer an easy death.'—*Boston correspondent of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

SELECTIONS.

MR. PARADOX AND THE REV. DR. PARAGON — A SKETCH.

The following graphic and amusing sketch is taken from the new and attractive work, published by Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston, entitled, 'WOLFSDEN—an authentic account of things there and thereunto pertaining, as they are and have been':—

Mr. Samuel Boynton was a merchant of the old-fashioned sort, high-minded, methodical, somewhat formal and self-opinionated, and having faith in the old institutions and doctrines in which he was moulded. He believed in Fast-day sermons and Fourth-of-July orations, in the piety of his church and the patriotism of his party. He was nobly educated for times long since gone by, and he still nourished and brooded old notions, as the careful hen broods her eggs, after they are long addled. But his practices, prompted by the instincts of a benevolent heart, were often at variance with the policy and feeling of the society and party to which he was allied, and in whose support he was compelled to suppress many misgivings. He was life-member of the A. B. C. F. M., and yet contributed to the Union Missionary Society, which condemns the A. B. C. F. M. At his table sound doctors of divinity sometimes met radical reformers, and would find the Boston *Liberator* side by side with the New York *Observer*. His toleration satisfied neither party. Conservatives saw that his influence encouraged disorganizing principles, and radicals complained that conservatives were able to claim so liberal a man as one of their party. Yet neither ventured to remonstrate; for Mr. B. was not a man to bear dictation.

Alek chanced to arrive in New York during the 'anniversary week,' celebrated by religious and other associations; and, accepting Mr. Boynton's cordial invitation, found himself at the dinner-hour, seated at a more sumptuous table, with a finer and better-dressed company, than he had before seen; for those who attend the anniversaries are generally the most respectable of their respective societies, and of those some of the most distinguished were always allotted to Mr. Boynton's hospitality; such matters being mostly arranged by private understanding of the leaders, though the entertainer is also entitled to invite whom he chooses. This privilege Mr. Boynton had exercised by inviting not only Alek, but also another person, more prominent, though much less congenial to the general taste and feelings of the guests. This was no other than the noted Mr. Paradox, the incendiary leader and agitating apostle of one of the most radical, subversive, and formidable associations of the time.

No other person had so early in life engaged so large a share of public attention, or been the object of so earnest and opposite feelings. Scarcely a paper in the United States was issued without an article or paragraph relating to him, of which a large proportion expressed the severest condemnation and abhorrence; the soundest and most patriotic of the political and religious papers being most frequent and earnest in their anathemas, which, indeed, was the surest proof of their soundness and patriotism.

Mr. Paradox well deserved all the abuse he received; for he had done more to overthrow and destroy the deference and veneration attached to the time-hallowed institutions which divines and patriots support, and by which they profit, than any man or demon since the days of Dr. Faustus; having, besides his individual influence, opened sluices of public thought and feeling, through which an increasing current of opinion still rushes, endangering the sacred foundations of church and state.

By the side of Mr. Paradox sat no less a personage than the Rev. Dr. Paragon, so celebrated for his learning, his piety, and his position, being the acknowledged head of the only true and infallible religious sect in the land, all the other ninety-nine being clearly gone astray, and corrupted with the most palpable and damning errors.

Thus, by chance or contrivance, were these champions of their respective fields placed in proximity, and compelled to the interchange of courteous salutations. Dr. Paragon being much the oldest man, and also an official dignitary, the option of debate properly belonged to him; and therefore Mr. Paradox, who is always the most civil when he meditates most mischief, abstained from provocation, and joined blandly in general remarks. But, under the circumstances, collision was unavoidable; for the reverend doctor was surrounded by friends, who expected the onset, which his position would not allow him to decline, and, therefore, gathering up his learning, dignity, and eloquence, he proceeded to an overpowering onslaught upon his adversary.

He began by showing the disorganizing character of all radical movements, which, originating outside of the church, are unauthorized by Scripture, and necessarily hostile to divine authority. He instanced the dangerous character of abolitionism, which he pronounced false in its principles and fatal in its tendencies. He proved from Moses and St. Paul the scriptural sanction of slavery, as an institution appointed by God and approved by his apostles; and testified to the general piety of the slaveholders, which he favorably contrasted with the want of reverence for the Scripture, the Sabbath, and the church, shown by leading abolitionists, some of whose attacks he specified and repelled; and also showed that his own sect were faithful to their duty in preaching the Gospel, in whose light slavery, and all other evils, would finally be overcome. He also claimed for himself and brethren, North and South, that they were the only true abolitionists, inasmuch as they sincerely mourned and prayed over the evil, and patiently waited God's time for its removal; which might, perhaps, have already been accomplished, but for the mischievous agitation of professed abolitionists.

The dignified company were pleased with the ability and approved the severity of their champion's discourse; and even Mr. Paradox, by the respectful attention he gave, showed that he appreciated the honor of being demolished by so distinguished a divine. Yet, true to his name and nature, he must needs reply, and that, too, in a manner both perplexing and provoking.

He said that he would not dispute with so learned a critic upon interpretations of Scripture, but thought that, if its mission in the world was to establish slavery, mankind might have managed to get along without its light, since many heathen nations, unaided by revelation, had adopted the institution. He apprehended that, with such interpretations, the Bible would lose its authority, in reflecting minds. 'As,' said he, 'it seems already to be disregarded by yourself and brethren, since you "mourn and pray for the removal" of an "institution which it sanctions, as appointed by God himself, and approved by his apostles."' Upon the doctor's claim for himself and friends to be the only true abolitionists, he expressed pleasure in hearing of the progress of truth in such quarters; and, as to the imputation of having put back God's time for doing the work, he replied by a modest doubt of his ability to control the purposes of Omnipotence, even if he had the wish to do so.

Notwithstanding the conciliatory manner of the reply, the reverend doctor was not mollified, and answered, quickly, 'Sir, you misrepresent my views. I was discussing the *abstract* question concerning the fundamental principles of the relation, whether it be necessarily such a *malum in se* as may not exist *salva fide et salva ecclesia.*'

'Sir,' replied Mr. Paradox, 'as to misrepresenting your views, I cannot do that knowingly, for they are to me incomprehensible; but, as it seems they relate only to abstractions, they do not concern me, for my business is with realities.'

Such was the irreverence with which Mr. Paradox sometimes replied to the most revered dignitaries. Alek, who had been but a few hours in New York, and whose rustic reason was as yet unused to the refined light in which matters are judged in the city, supposed the reverend doctor vanquished in the debate; but the evident disapprobation with which the remarks of Mr. Paradox were received by the clerical company, and the deference and admiration with which the doctor was listened to, showed that an opposite opinion prevailed. The matter was soon set right before the public by the following paragraph in a popular daily paper:

'The Rev. Doctor Paragon, while dining with a company of distinguished divines, was bitterly assailed and denounced by the notorious Mr. Paradox, who had, by some means, obtained admission. The venerable divine, in the most gentlemanly and Christian manner, rebuked the incendiary fanatic, and, with the ready eloquence which marks his private conversation, no less than his public performances, vindicated Christianity and the church from his imputations, and exposed the reckless folly and impiety of the fanatic crew who are endeavoring to excite the public mind, and disturb the peace of society. If these proceedings are persisted in, it may become a duty to arrest them by summary process. Let the outraged public see that order and decency are preserved in their meeting at the Tabernacle this evening.'

Alek, to whom such views of life were new, resolved to attend the meeting at the Tabernacle, where, notwithstanding the suggested summary process, a very large audience assembled. As the addresses proceeded, it soon became evident, by the increasing uproar, which, commencing with hisses and stamping, soon grew to shouts and yells, that many had come, according to the suggestion of the papers, to preserve order and decency. But, notwithstanding their efforts, the most violent disorder soon manifested itself, until, at length, a gallant and distinguished captain (whose patriotism has since been politically rewarded) sprang upon the platform occupied by the speakers, and, brandishing a formidable weapon, solemnly swore, by the powers celestial and infernal, that the speeches should be stopped; and, being backed by a band of choice spirits, soon caused the dispersion of the assembly.

Among the speakers was a lady, who, in the mildest manner and most impressive language, insisted that manly honor, equally with Christian duty, required of men to protect the humble and proscribed; and that to uphold the oppression of the poor—for thus she designated slavery—was unmanly as well as unchristian, and, when done by those who themselves belonged to the industrious class, and were therefore bound by policy to preserve the rights and dignity of labor, was inexpressibly mean, and was sure to incur the contempt of honorable men, even among slaveholders themselves, as well as to provoke the vengeance of God. These and the like obnoxious sentiments were promptly hissed, and stamped with the disapprobation of the orderly and decent portion of the audience.

Alek, who occupied a remote part of the gallery, was not an indifferent spectator; and we are compelled to confess that his rustic sympathies were not on the side of the preservers of order and decency, but rather with the fanatics on the platform; so that, when several brave fellows about him proposed to second the laudable exploits of the valiant captain, by mobbing the ladies as they emerged from the door, he grasped his cudgel tightly, with an impulse to remonstrate. He, however, said nothing, but kept with those about him, who supposed him to be of the same mind; and they, observing his stalwart and vigorous frame, proposed putting him forward as leader,—which honor he declined, as being a stranger. This position was voluntarily assumed by an able-bodied patriot, named Bludgeon.

Although Alek declined leadership, he kept in front of the enterprising squad; and, as they neared the female group, and Mr. B., supported by those behind him, rushed forward to execute the 'summary process' by seizing the female orator, Alek, with a powerful and dextrous blow upon the head, doubled him up, there not being room to fall prostrate, and then, thrusting the end of his cudgel furiously into the faces of his supporters, to the irreparable damage of eyes, noses, and teeth, so discouraged them that they desisted from their purpose, and the fanatics passed unharmed, while Alek mingled with the crowd, and left the ground. Full details of this affair may be found in the secular and religious papers of the time, under the head of '*Abolition Riots*,' recorded with that admirable regard for candor and truth which has always characterized their representations of such affairs.

WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WANT.

In the U. S. Senate, Feb. 26th, Hon. JOHN P. HALE delivered an earnest and eloquent speech on 'The Wrongs of Kansas,' some portions of which were very effective, but the following extract from it is in such a supplicatory tone and on-bended-knee position toward the haughty 'lords of the lash' at the South, that we are almost ashamed to lay it before our readers:—

Now, sir, what do we want? what do we ask? We ask that the country shall come back to the point from which it started. *We enter upon no crusade against any Southern rights. We ask for no new test, no new doctrine, no new experiments,* no rash, doubtful, or untried measures. We are content with *the wisdom of the past.* We are satisfied with the inheritance and the legacy which the patriots of the Revolution have left us. *We are willing to take the Constitution as they understood it, and the law as they framed and administered it.* Is it arrogance for us to ask that you come with us there? *We ask you to go no further;* we merely ask you to come with us, and take counsel of the departed patriotism of the fathers of the Revolution. We ask you to listen to their doings when the wounds of the Revolution were not yet healed over, when the blood and dust of the battle were hardly wiped from their brows, and when their locks were hoary with the frosts which had fallen upon them as they stood sentinels round about the camps of Liberty. That is what we ask, and *we are willing to abide by it;* and when we ask that, and when we demand it, how are we met? We are told that we are aggressive; and we are threatened, that if our aggressions do not cease, if our tauntings do not come to an end, and if the spirit of Northern fanaticism, which is continually making aggressions, does not cease, this Union cannot be maintained. Sir, I feel obliged to believe the sincerity of gentlemen, when they get up and talk about Northern aggression, but it is one of the hardest things I am bound to believe. Bound as I am to believe it on their word, I have never had the face to go home and tell my constituents so; because they would tell me that, however I might believe it, they knew better. Sir, they have made as much progress as Mr. Everett had made on the Nebraska Bill; they not only know it themselves, but they know that every body else knows it; that there is not only no truth in it, but that the exact reverse is the truth of history, the truth of the past, the truth of the present; and may God grant that it shall not be the truth of the future!

Sir, we ask to stand *nothing more than your equals.* It has been the fashion of late years to quote Mr. Webster. Mr. Webster never made a truer remark in all his life, than when he said there was no North. No, sir; in the history of this Government, there has been no North, except to collect revenues from. You have found out that there was a North for that purpose; but in dictating the policy of this Government, in controlling its politics, in appointing its officers, in framing its laws, the dead sage of Marshfield spoke the truth when he said there was no North. Well, sir, we should be content for a little while, to take it for granted, as a fact of political geography, that there was no North, if you would not taunt us with it, and tell us that we are aggressive. Aggressive in what? We have opinions that we cannot help. We have convictions—we cannot renounce them at your bidding. We believe that, *for us*, slavery is wrong, unprofitable. You have a different opinion for yourselves. Enjoy it; *we have no quarrel on that account.* You believe that it is profitable; reap all its benefits. You believe that it is just; *enjoy it.* You believe that you are conferring a great benefit on the slaves; *go on in your work of humanity—we will never interfere.* All we have to say, *all we ask*, all we claim, is, that you will *leave us the poor privilege of believing, in our cold Northern homes, that it is not right for us.* We ask you that, while we are members of this Conferacy with you, bound together by the ties of a common Constitution for certain great purposes, we shall not be made amenable to the responsibility of sustaining, extending and perpetuating an institution which in our heart of hearts we believe to be wrong. Now, sir, is there any occasion for quarrel? Our fathers did not quarrel. They entertained these opinions, but they did not quarrel. As Mr. Webster well said, 'Side by side and shoulder to shoulder they went through the Revolution;' and side by side and shoulder to shoulder are their descendants ready to stand again. But, sir, I ask you, as a matter of justice, I put it to every Southern man who hears me, to try it in the tribunal of his own heart, if it is right, if it is fair, if it is just, to have the charge of Northern aggression continually rung in our ears!

I have now a word or two to say to the honorable Senator from Tennessee, [Mr. JONES,] and I shall speak to him more kindly than he did to me, but perhaps not so eloquently. The Senator from Tennessee represents his State ably, brilliantly—I say it in no Pickwickian sense. He came here with a very high reputation. I am a much humbler man, of more moderate powers, and vastly less pretensions, representing the small State of New Hampshire. Now, I will put it to the honorable Senator from Tennessee, as between our two States, what harm on earth have we ever done him? Have we ever injured the hair of a man's head in Tennessee? Have we of the State of New Hampshire ever withholden our appreciation of a public man because he lived in the State of Tennessee? No, sir; twice in solid column have the unalterable Democracy, of whom I spoke to you, gone up in unbroken phalanx to the polls, and recorded their votes for two citizens of Tennessee for the highest office in the gift of the Republic. I confess that, with my reading of history, I am at a loss to discover in the history of either or both those States a single iota of evidence that could convict New Hampshire, or one man in it, of injuring, by word or deed, or even thought, the State of Tennessee, or a single citizen of that State.

The best way to examine all questions is to take them in detail—one from the mass, and examine it. So far as my humble State is concerned, might I not go through with every State of the Union, and put the same question, and would not every man be at a loss to gainsay it? Certainly he would. Then, I would say, in the language of Brutus—though I am not going into Roman oratory—'If we have offended any man, let him speak.' If there is any man who has suffered wrong or injustice at our hands, where is he? I do not know it. Why not look at this matter in the light of the truth of history? Why not lay aside these angry appeals? Why not lay aside every thing, except the solid, substantial truth of history, and look it right in the face? When we do that, I am not at all afraid, when we are tried before any tribunal in earth or heaven, but that the skirts of our garments will be found clean of any offence against any of our sister States.

Mr. President, I read some remarks which were made by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. BUTLER,] when the Kansas bill was under consideration in the Senate two years ago. I am not able to give his exact words, because I cannot speak so eloquently as that Senator; but I remember that he said, speaking in regard to the South, that the South wanted her heart relieved, more than any practical burdens taken off. I may not have given his very language, but that, I think, is the idea; I remember it, for I read it last night in the *Globe*. Sir, I confess that when I read that remark, it thrilled my very heart. An appeal of that sort made to the North will never be made in vain; but such has not been the spirit in which gentlemen entertaining the opinions that I do have been accustomed to be addressed by gentlemen of the South. Let me tell you, sir—and I think I can speak in behalf of my own State—that when an appeal is made to them from the South, or the West, or any where else, in that spirit, *they would coin their very hearts to buy peace*—they would pour out their very heart's blood like water, to wash out the least and the last offence.

But, sir, I appeal to the truth of history—I appeal to the convictions of every man who hears me, if we have ever been addressed in any spirit like that! No, sir; far, very far indeed from it. I shall not endeavor, however, to awake those angry passions which I am deprecating, by a repetition of the course which has been heretofore pursued towards us. I am willing—and I desire—that so far as past occasions of offence are concerned, they should be past. I am willing that the dead past should bury its dead; I desire to live in the present, in the language of the poet—

'Heart within, and God o'erhead';

mindful of all the obligations which the Constitution, or which our duty, or, the demands of justice, make upon us. Thus much we are willing to give! We will go far, very far, for peace; but let me say, I am not used to the language of menace; I am not used to the utterance of threats; but I tell you that on the subject of human slavery, we have convictions which we cannot sacrifice—we have opinions which it were treason to our moral nature to refrain from expressing on all suitable occasions. Up to that mark we must stand. We must say, as those of old have said, when we reach a point where duty, conscience, conviction must be surrendered, we cannot go. We cannot consent to surrender our opinions, convictions, or sentiments. What then? Must this Union be dissolved? Sir, I do not believe it. I do not believe—gentlemen will pardon me if I say it, for it is an opinion—I do not believe that the popular opinion of the great masses of the people of this country is represented, when gentlemen talk quite so flippantly as I have heard some talk about a dissolution of this Union. I believe to-day, that ours is the strongest government on the face of the earth. I believe that its foundations are the firmest, the most enduring. What are they? The popular judgment, the popular heart. There it is, sir; there is the solemn, the broad, and the everlasting basis upon which the institutions of this country rest. My own opinion is, that such will be found to be the case, whenever and wherever infatuation shall be led to try the experiment. I believe that if, listening to evil counsels, pushed on by the purposes of ambition or any other, a party, large or small, shall be so far forsaken of God and of good counsels as to venture on that rash experiment, the conservatism, the patriotism, the intelligence and the humanity of this great people will teach such men a lesson which they, nor their children, nor their children's children, to the latest posterity, will forget.

AN APPEAL TO GOV. CHASE.

GERRIT SMITH has addressed a long and plainly written letter to Gov. CHASE, of Ohio, lamenting that the Governor does not read and construe the U. S. Constitution as he does—to the denial of all pro-slavery compromises, &c. We take the following extract from it, upon another topic:—

To my own mind it is well-nigh certain, that if the Republican party is to be allowed to absorb the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, this sentiment will be found, after the speedy death and burial of that party, to be weaker than it has been at any time within the last twenty years—weaker even than after its similar experience of the perverting and corrupting influence of the Free Soil party. Then will there be less prospect than ever of a bloodless termination of American slavery. True, there may follow some other event to revive that enfeebled and perishing anti-slavery sentiment. But what event of such mighty influence to that end as the Nebraska and Kansas Bill can there ever be again? Moreover, the oftener that sentiment has been aroused but to be trifled with, disappointed, abused, the more difficult it will be to break its slumbers and encourage it to action. Indeed, the public mind is fast becoming hopeless on the subject of slavery, in consequence of this blasting of its hopes by shallow and idle movements against slavery.

I see that there is to be a National Convention of the Republican party at Pittsburg, 22d of next month. Would to God that you and other strong men, who belong to it, might, on that occasion, see the folly of keeping that party on its present low ground, and the necessity of exalting it into an abolition party. It is now but an anti-slavery party. Make it an abolition party, and it will be as full of power as it is now full of weakness. It has now but a half-way and negative character; and it will die, because, like all such miserable things, it deserves to die. But, give it a positive and efficient character, and it will live and triumph. Fear not that the masses would refuse to follow you in such an upward and glorious movement. I was in Pittsburg on a similar occasion three years and a half ago, and I saw with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears, abundant evidence that the masses desired to take this same high ground to which I then invited them. It was as much as their more cautious and calculating leaders could possibly do to keep them from rushing to that ground. Depend upon it, the anti-slavery masses are far in advance of their leaders. They are tired of the low policy and low views, which can make no appeal to the earnestness and enthusiasm of their souls. They are weary of standing, month after month, and year after year, upon a fruitless and inglorious defensive. Their impatience to conquer waits but the summons to conquer. They have the courage and power to go forward and put an end to slavery; but of the policy, which never advances against slavery, and which, when not retreating before it, is, at the most, but standing still, they are heartily tired, wholly ashamed.

My desire to see your party rise into an abolition party, and put away slavery from the whole land, is not exclusively for the sake of the slave, and the scarcely less abused free colored man. It is in no small degree for the sake of the slaveholders also. Our pity for the slaves cannot be excessive: and hardly excessive can be our pity for the slaveholders. There are few classes of men so unfortunate and so wronged as are the slaveholders. In the first place, they have inherited the most wicked of all systems of oppression. In the second place, I know not why it should be any easier for them than for others to see the sinfulness of that to which they were born and bred. In the third place, whence shall light come to scatter the darkness of their false education? Not from the South—for the whole South is enveloped in that darkness. It should come from the North: but the religious parties of the North quiet the slaveholder in his sin. Its titled divines, with the Bible in their hands, add their pro-slavery interpretations of i on their lips, easily succeed in transmuting slavery into a virtue, and in making it the ordina tion of heaven, instead of the product of hell. This light should come from the North: but the merchants of the North go for slavery, because they go for Southern trade. It should come from the North: but the political parties of the North—your own no less than the others—exalt slavery int the dignity of law, and accord to it all the sacred obligations of law.

Such are the circumstances of the unfortunate and wronged slaveholder, whom the North is con firming in sin, instead of bringing to repentance and is he not to be pitied rather than scorned and hated, and shunned? Are we to treat him a if he saw slavery with our eyes, and were con scious, as we are, of its superlative wickedness Are we to refuse even to discuss the question o slavery with him? Reason and religion forbi such treatment and such refusal. Mr. Garrison though seldom wrong, errs, in my judgment, a this point. He would discuss this question wit the Northern politicians, and Northern doctors of divinity; and yet, even on the subject of slavery, their sin, compared with that of the slaveholder, is as the mountain to the molehill. I would here add, that we should encourage the strongest slaveholders to come to the North with their arguments for slavery, if only that the people of the North may have the opportunity of witnessing the utter weakness and emptiness of even the strongest arguments in that direction.

It is possible that I judge the slaveholder too leniently. My father was a slaveholder until after I reached manhood. I married a slaveholder. In no period of my life have I refused social and even friendly relations with slaveholders. Now, I admit it is possible that these and other facts in my history may serve to unfit me to judge impartially of Southern slaveholders. At any rate, so it is, that, with all my abhorrence of their stupendous crime—their pre-eminent piracy—I do not look upon them to be the worst of men. How can I so, so long as I believe that no small share of them regard slavery as right, and that the vast majority of them believe it to be, if not absolutely right, nevertheless excusable and unavoidable? It is because he may be blinded to the criminality of slavery by the lying education of the South, and by the more wickedly lying politics and religion of the North, that it is not only possible for him not to be totally corrupt, but possible also, as we have had frequent evidence, for beautiful and noble traits to shine in his character, and generous and sublime deeds to abound in his life.

The anti-slavery men spend quite too much of their time in denouncing the South. The reformation of the South is indeed among their legitimate aims; but their first duty is to reform themselves and their neighbors. Southern men are not worse than Northern men. They are nothing like as bad, if we take into the account that they go with, and Northern men against, the current of education and conviction. It is in this point of view that the worst slaveholder is a very saint, compared with a dough-face.

What is mainly necessary is a change at the North in religion and politics. Our religion must be so changed that it will no more countenance slavery than murder: and our politics must come to know no law for slavery. Then will Southern slavery pass away under the power of Northern influence, as naturally and as quietly as the mists of the morning disappear before the rising sun. May both you and I, my good friend, be found faithful and prompt to perform our respective parts in bringing about these mighty and saving changes.

MR. E. P. WHIPPLE'S LECTURE.

'SLAVERY—THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH IT RESTS, AND THE FALLACIES BY WHICH IT IS DEFENDED.'

The closing lecture in the independent course on the subject of Slavery was delivered in the Tremont Temple on Thurday evening, March 6th, by E. P. WHIPPLE, Esq., of Boston. The hall was full, notwithstanding the fall of snow in the early part of the evening. A large portion of the audience consisted of ladies. After some introductory remarks by Dr. Howe, respecting the course of lectures and its pecuniary results,—Mr. Whipple proceeded with his lecture. The subject of slavery, he said, was forced upon the public mind. The Slave Power, discontented with toleration in its own limits, now insolently demanded our connivance and championship for its limitless extension; and having shocked the heart by the spectacle of its tyranny, it had now roused an insurrection of the human understanding against the impudence of its project. In looking to the principles on which it is based, it should never be forgotten that slavery rests fundamentally upon the audacious, inhuman and self-evident lie, that property can be held in man.

Such an institution must have sprung from the unblest union of wilfulness and avarice—wilfulness which tramples on reason, and avarice which knows no conscience. The marks of this parentage are visible in every stage of its growth, in the argument for its existence, and in the motive for its extension. It is not suprising that some of the advocates of slavery do not relish such an analysis of its origin, which connects the institution with those dispositions which ally man with the tiger and the wolf. They therefore repudiate it, and attempt to bear down all opposition with the sacrilegious argument that slavery is a part of God's providence, claiming divine sanction for their darling sin, as Napoleon always felt persuaded that God was with the heaviest battalions.

It is true that a man's right to himself, given by God, can only by God be taken away; but the slaveholder exclaims—'It has been taken away by God, and I am but the humble agent of carrying out a higher law than that of the State—a higher will than even my own.' In this doctrine slaveholders have been aided by Southern clergymen, who preach Christ and him crucified by such arguments that we may fear he has been crucified by them. If they must give up liberty, why should they also throw in Christianity? Slavery, though opposed to God's laws, is included in God's providence, but divine providence, in the long run, most terribly affirms the laws. The stream of events flows on to retribution.

The right of a thing to exist must be sought in an inspection of the principles by which it exists; for no insight of the principles and the moral laws that govern human events could ever cause tyrants to exult, or philanthropists to despond. What we call providences are the acts of human wills divinely controlled; and when free wills organize falsehood, institute injustice, and establish oppression, they have passed to that state where will becomes wilfulness, and self-direction is exaggerated into self-worship. Wilfulness puts force in the place of reason and right; it is personality in its satanic form. It is a mistake to discern providence in the fact of guilt, instead of the certainty of retribution. Selfishness, in its ruthless greed of power and rapacious greed of gain, mimics divinity on the stilts of diabolism, and, by means of slavery, wantons in all the luxury of injustice, and tastes the exquisite pleasure of depriving others of that it most values for itself.

Whether we looked at it in the light of history or experience, we came to one result, that slavery had its source and sustenance in Satanic agency, in Satanic pride, and in Satanic greed. That was slavery in itself, as divorced from all ameliorations it might receive from individual slaveholders. All amelioration was a confession of the injustice of the thing tolerated; and the humane and Christian slaveholders owed the security of what they called their property to the vices of the hard and stern spirits whom they professed to abhor; but if they invested in the stock of the Devil's Corporation, they should not be too severe on those who took care they punctually received their dividends.

The true slaveholder disdains all cant, and clearly perceives that the system, in its practical workings, must conform to the principles upon which it is based. He accordingly believes in the lash. Brutality and cruelty are the means by which the weaker race are best kept 'subordi-

hate' to the stronger, and the brutality of the cordial slaveholder extends its influence to his milder neighbor's plantation. This brutality and cruelty belong not alone to the wielder of the lash, but to him who holds up heaven to the abject slave, and eternal torment in the next world to those who dare to assert their manhood in this world. The legislation of slavery shows the dominion of its malignant principles. You hear the crack of the whip in all its laws, yet they are admirably adapted to the end in view, and bear the marks of practical men, who know their wants, and, knowing, dare maintain them. They are ghastly caricatures of justice, pervaded with the rank flavor of the soil whence they sprung.

Did we need any further evidence that all slaveholders constituted a general Slave Power—that this power acted as a unit, the unity of a vast interest impelled by powerful passions,—we should find that evidence in the zeal and audacity with which that power was now engaged in extending its diminion. Seemingly aggressive, it was actually acting on the defensive,—not defensive, however, against the assaults of man, but against the immutable and self-executing decrees of God. Oppression and wrong, when they glut the avarice of the present, mortgage heavily the future, and an avenging providence, which he cannot find in the New Testament, or conscience, is revealed to him in political economy. The most indifferent to the gospel according to St. Matthew and St. John, are compelled to yield obedience to the gospel according to Adam Smith and Malthus; and however they may despise the abstract principles which declare slavery to be a nonsensical proceeding, they cannot fail to read these principles when they write themselves with curses on the land.

To limit slavery was to doom it to come to an end by the laws of population—was to compel the planter in the end to free his slaves, from inability to support them. It was by this principle of territorial limitation that Henry Clay, before the annexation of Texas, declared that slavery must expire. When slave labor ceased to be profitable, slave-breeding took its place. Slavery extension and slave-breeding were necessities of the system; in the words of an old divine, they were like Romulus and Remus, both suckled from one wolf. To be lucrative, slavery must have a small population, widely diffused, and limitation kills it by the laws of population: and, therefore, its promoters sought to enlarge its area and open new slave markets. The expansive tendencies of freedom were to be checked by the no less expansive tendencies of slavery. The annexation of Texas was meant to keep up a demand for slaves, to prevent Virginia, North Carolina and Kentucky from becoming free States. As soon as their soils were worn out, new soils were to be opened to receive the curse, and when slave labor had ceased to be profitable, it was to be succeeded by slave breeding. When this proposition was first announced, it was referred to transient heat, instead of cool deliberation; but it is needless to seek for extraneous causes of action which are but legitimate steps in the development of principles already known.

To the North, slavery is directly a practical question. Opposition to it is no longer fanaticism, which assails an institution because its principles are absurd or wicked, but common sense, which assails when the development of its principle are immediately and pressingly dangerous. By no sophistry can we evade the responsibility of being the extenders of slavery, if it be extended. Common sense must tell us that slavery has now become immediately dangerous to our interests and our honor, and we are bound to oppose it from common decency, if not from a sense of right.

It may be said we have nothing to do with slavery at the South; but it rests with us to rescue the national character from infamy, and, unhappily, we cannot do that without having something to do with slavery. Shall we suffer the whole force of the National Government to go to perpetuate this enormity? Shall we be guilty of that foulest atheism to free principles, the deliberate planting of slave institutions on virgin soil? The South confidently expects so to wheedle and bully us, and drag our common sense in the mire of momentary expedients, as to enable them to accomplish their execrable work. If this question were put to any despot of Europe, he had almost said of Asia, his answer would undoubtedly be an indignant negative; yet the South expected to wheedle and bully us, to so drag our common sense through the mud and mire of momentary expedience, that we should connive in the performance of this execrable crime. If the question could be put fairly to the free Northern States, their voice would be for freedom; conservatives, even, would be for that, for they were bound to oppose the Marats and Robespierres of despotism who were busy in the bad work.

In the old world the conservatives of one generation are the radicals of the next; but with us this is reversed, and the radical of 1790 is now the conservative of 1820, and the radical of 1820 is the conservative of 1856. We have been descending the stairs of compromise until we have at last touched bottom, unless, indeed, the project of reopening the American slave trade may convert the present conservative of Virginia into a fanatic in 1860. The reason of this reversal is that the tendency of slavery is towards barbarism.

There is no danger of slavery extension by the will of the people, but there is danger that it may somehow or other occur. A misconception of the question, devotion to party, or its memory, or prejudice against prominent anti-slavery men, may make the people slide into this crime. The more fervid a reformer may be, the more is he identified with his cause, and the more liable to have his whims criticized instead of his principles, to which they are attached. By availing itself of the divisions of its professed opponents, and drawing the people away from the iniquity it proposes to perpetrate, the Slave Power may achieve its designs. It does not ask us to be enthusiastic in this work of self-degradation, but simply to allow it to occur. In the meanwhile it tosses to us contemptuously a few fig-leaves of fallacies and sophistries to save appearances.

We are told that men are not free and equal, only as Providence has made them equal, but no two men were ever exactly equal in this light. It is said the black and white races cannot dwell together as freemen, but this both experience and reason prove to be false. Then with exquisite effrontery we are assured that this complete antithesis of the relations of master and slave is a complete and perfect harmony, and that the expedient of enslaving labor has settled the great question between labor and capital. The contest between these great interests will continue until a more Christian spirit shall universally prevail, but slavery is a relapse to the first condition of the struggle, in the age of barbarism. Labor must in the end own capital, not capital labor, and no man will be enslaved. We are told the slaves are nevertheless in a condition of physical comfort. If this were true, we might imagine the master addressing his slave in the language of Byron to Duke Alphonso—'Thou, born to eat, and be despised, and die, even as the brutes that perish;' though we doubt if he could truly add—'Save that thou hast a more splendid trough, and a wider sty.' Then we are solemnly warned of our patriotic duty to 'know no North and no South.' Is not this the impudence of ingratitude, since for so long we have known no North, and have, unhappily, been compelled to know altogether too much South! We are conjured to comply with the demands of the Slave Power in order to save the Union. How would they have us save it? By violating its fundamental principles, scouting the objects which it was intended to serve! Is it saving a thing to convert it into something different from itself! Lastly comes the question upon which the South relies as a decisive argument: 'What should we do with our slaves, provided we emancipated them!' This is asked for the purpose of *not* being answered, for the moment we commence a reply, they cry out 'State Rights!' 'State Rights!'

These fig leaves are thrown out to divert attention (and very diverting they are) from the main issue. They are about as appropriate as a sermon before an asylum of the blind and legless, on the moral dangers of foreign travel. They are sufficient, however, for those who are seeking occasions to be tempted, and reasons for roguery, and they are powerfully backed up by patronage and fat offices.

These false facts and bad reasonings were the keys of fat offices, and a new test had been instituted by which no man could serve the United States unless he was the champion or sycophant of the Slave Power—proscription to the friends of American freedom, and office for those who acquiesced in human bondage: we must be with the latter, or we did not belong to what was now ironically called a healthy political organization.

In some countries no Catholics were allowed to hold office, in others no Protestants, in others no Jews; but it was not, he believed, in Protestant countries that Protestants were proscribed—it was not in Catholic countries that Catholics were held incompetent to serve the State. It remained for a free country to establish practically civil disabilities against men, for Republican America to proscribe Republicans. (Applause.) Think of it, that no American, whatever his talents, his patriotism, could now serve his country in its executive administration, unless he agreed with the slaveholders, or was base enough to sham agreement!

Now we were often warned of the danger of sectional parties on account of their tendency to break up the government. Let us give heed to this warning, for here was a sectional party in possession of the government. We were often advised not to form political organizations on one idea. Let us give heed to this advice, for here was a triumphant political combination based not only on one idea, but that the worst idea which ever animated any political combination. Here was an association of 350,000 persons, spread over 950,000 square miles of territory, wielding the whole political power, and engaged in making the United States into a sort of slave plantation, of which they were the overseers.

We opposed it, and they read us long and edifying discourses on law and order, order represented practically by Border Ruffians; law which was but the legislation of criminal instincts—law and order which, judged by the code established for Kansas Yankees, seemed based on legislative ideas imported from the Fejee Islands. (Applause.) We opposed them again, and they preached about the necessity of preserving the Union, as if in the Free States the love of the Union was not a passion, proof against many losses and insensible to many humiliations—as if the North ever intended to dissolve the Union, or ever intended to allow 350,000 Southern gentlemen to do it.

Our Constitution, originally a charter of freedom, was now an instrument the slaveholders seemed exclusively to possess, by means of squatter sovereignty. Did we think we could retard the onward movement of their force by timely compromises and concessions? Every compromise we made only increased their demands, stimulated their rapacity, heightened their arrogance—every concession we made to their insolent threats was only a step down to our deeper abasement, and which won not the gratitude of the South, but their contempt. Every concession, too, weakened us and strengthened them for the inevitable struggle into which the Free States must eventually be goaded, to preserve what remained of their liberty, their honor, and their self-respect.

But if any concessions were to be made, why, in Heaven's name, let them be made to the North. Concessions historically were not made by freedom to privilege, but by privilege to freedom. Concessions, indeed, of liberty to slavery—of civilization to barbarism! If we held in our grasp one of the dear-bought chartered rights of man, it was infamous to concede it. We should make it the darling of our precious eye, for to lose it or give it away were such perdition as nothing else could match. But, concession or no concession, the Free States were bound by every consideration of conscience and prudence to insist at least that the ancient meaning of the Constitution should be restored; that the spirit in which the Union was formed should be preserved; that the Slave Power should be driven from its supremacy in the National Councils, and that the limits of its domain be resolutely fixed.

Arrest its development, and we struck at its being. If it did not grow, it must die. Shylock-like, its fate was 'you take my life when you take the means whereby I live.' Shape it, and we forced the energy now employed in its extension to be exercised in its extinction, and we served the highest moral interests and truest material interests of the slaveholder himself, by interposing a barrier to the fierce tide of his passions. Wherever slavery was concentrated, there should the full force of the North strike at it. The Irishman's advice to his friend at the fair was, 'wherever you see a head, hit it;' and wherever this hydra lifted its head, in the domestic or foreign relations of the country, in Congress or Kansas, there in Heaven's name hit it. (Applause.)

But the opposition should be hearty. An evil principle in the character would beat a moral principle in the tongue. Let us not place too much reliance on an abstract love of liberty, but try to urge against this national sin the average national sense and intelligence of the mass of the people. Let us not convert the great cause into a minor squabble among individuals, about minor differences of opinion—let us not waste the energies which should be directed against an immediate danger, in irritating whole classes of the community who in sentiment and purpose were naturally on our side. All that was proper, excellent, and humane, in the South as well as at the North, was with us in the work. Be brave, be patient, be earnest, be wise, create no enemies, alienate no friends—throw ourselves confidingly upon the manly instincts of the people, and the victory was ours. (Loud applause.)

THE INFIDELITY OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.

We are sick of this hypocritical cry. It is invariably directed by bigotry or self-interest. Those who keep it up are, however unconsciously, the worst enemies of the slave, for they do all that in them lies to paralyse the efforts of his best friends. The anti-slavery zeal of those who give ear to it is sure to melt away like snow before the sun. Some would prefer that slavery and all its pollutions should go unchecked, rather than witness any effectual effort against them by those who do not pronounce their shibboleth. Indeed, no passion is more cruel, blind, and merciless than that which induces men (and women) to hate their fellow-creatures for the love of God. Nothing can surpass the insolence of intolerance. Take any two of the soundest believers in the same creed, who have ever exercised any independent thought, catechise them carefully apart, and such difference of opinion between them would come to light, inevitably resulting from variety of circumstances, education, and temperament, as would astonish themselves. Every one is an infidel to millions of others as thoughtful, well-educated, and excellent as himself; every Christian to every Mahometan, both to every Buddhist, and the whole 700,000,000 to every Jew; every Protestant to every Catholic, and both to every Mormon The Protestant sects are full of infidels to one another. It is a small matter to these narrow bigots or base self-seekers who cant about the faith or want of faith of abolitionists, that these are indefatigable in their efforts against slavery; that their integrity, ability, and endurance are unsurpassed. Nothing can silence such people but a prompt and unreserved resignation of that very mental independence which has made the abolitionists what they are—the dauntless, self-sacrificing pioneers in an unpopular and difficult reform. Our own experience entitles us to say, that those adherents of the anti-slavery cause who chiefly busy themselves with inquiries into the orthodoxy of their fellow-laborers, are sure to obstruct rather than promote the efforts of others—that their adhesion and assistance are rather to be avoided than invited. Wheresoever they come, dissension and apathy are sure to follow. On the other hand, amongst those who claim and exercise that independence of thought which they are willing to concede to others, will be found those qualities of integrity, endurance, and self-denial which command confidence, awaken zeal, reward co-operation, and make their intimacy an honor and a benefit to their fellow-laborers. These remarks have been called forth by some especially zealous efforts which are now being made in these countries, to estrange the adherents of the American Anti-Slavery Society from the truest friends of the slave, on grounds which have no connexion with the anti-slavery cause. We know that these efforts, which are pursued with remarkable duplicity and malignity, are not disinterested, and are unworthy of attention or respect.—*London A. S. Advocate.*

NEW YORK, March 19. A preliminary examination was held yesterday into the affair of the schooner Falmouth, seized as a suspected slaver, but nothing was elicited going to show the ownership of the vessel. Twelve Portuguese passengers and seamen who were found on board, after undergoing a rigid examination, were committed to prison to await further proceedings. Circumstances connected with the affair throw considerable suspicion upon the Portuguese Consul of this port. The schooner is clipper built, of 250 tons burden, and hails from Baltimore. All the arrangements on board, all the fixtures indicate that she was fitted for a slaver.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, MARCH 21, 1856.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS SECTARIAN OPPONENTS.

BOSTON, March 18, 1856.

To the Editor of the London Anti-Slavery Advocate:

DEAR FRIEND—It is seldom I am induced to make a public refutation of any of the malicious allegations which are brought against the American Anti-Slavery Society, whether by open pro-slavery enemies or the pseudo friends of negro emancipation, at home or abroad; because they are all most effectually answered by an unswerving adherence to the cause of the oppressed; and because to notice them in detail would be an endless task. But, in view of the insidious efforts making on your side of the Atlantic to destroy all confidence in this Society, through unprincipled emissaries from the United States, aided by those who, under an anti-slavery garb, affect to be *religiously* concerned for the integrity of the movement to which my life is consecrated, I can do no less than to send you a brief letter, explanatory and defensive,—not for my sake personally, but to disabuse the minds of the truly pure and good, that may have been poisoned by the hand of malice, or alarmed by the tocsin of bigotry.

Hitherto, the American Anti-Slavery Society has received generous aid from England and the Continent, which it has gratefully appreciated, and faithfully applied to the promotion of the cause in the manner designed by the donors. Why should not the same coöperation be continued? Has the Society any other object in view than the abolition of chattel slavery? No. Has it turned aside from its legitimate work to subserve an ulterior purpose? No. Has it yielded one jot or tittle of the rights of the slave, to screen any sect or party from merited condemnation? No. Has it ever been a respecter of persons? No. Has it ever been found wanting in moral intrepidity, personal self-sacrifice, untiring vigilance, or laborious effort? No. Has it presumed to arraign any man, or any body of men, religiously or politically, on any other than a pro-slavery charge, sustained by overwhelming evidence? No. Has it ever attempted to discuss or settle any theological opinions or denominational views, aside from the question of slavery? No. Is it possible for an organization to be more true, disinterested, or impartial, in the prosecution of its specific work? No. Has it ever shrunk from the closest scrutiny 'before all Israel and the sun'? No.

The questions I have asked and answered, and answered truly, are sufficiently definite and comprehensive to meet every calumny circulating among you against the Society. Why, then, is it not still deserving the generous sympathy and aid of every friend of freedom?

To the charge that is made, in certain quarters, that it is an 'infidel' Society, I reply, first, that this is an old device of priestcraft and despotism, to put down every righteous reform; secondly, that in the sense in which it is used, and designed to be understood, it is a most wicked misrepresentation; thirdly, that it is coined and circulated either through deadly enmity to the anti-slavery movement, or by sectarian intolerance, or personal malevolence or selfishness; and, finally, that the Society has ever vindicated Christ and his gospel as inimical to oppression in every form, and therefore properly denied that the slave-breeding and slave-hunting religion of this guilty land is genuine Christianity.

The manner in which it is attempted to sustain this slanderous imputation is equally impudent and absurd. For example:—in an editorial article in the Glasgow *Chronicle* of January 30th, I find the American Anti-Slavery Society denounced as clearly 'infidel,' because I, its President, on a certain occasion, attended a Convention held in Hartford, (Ct.) to consider the question of the plenary inspiration of the Bible, and offered and sustained a series of resolutions in opposition to the popular dogma respecting that volume! The *Chronicle* falsely styles it an '*Anti-Bible* Convention'—how falsely, let the following extract from the Call for the Convention decide:—

☞ TO THE FRIENDS OF FREE DISCUSSION. The undersigned hereby invite all who are friendly to free discussion, to attend a Convention to be held at Hartford, (Ct.,) on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th of June next, for the purpose of freely and fully canvassing the ORIGIN, AUTHORITY AND INFLUENCE OF THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES.

This invitation is not given to any particular class of Philosophers, Theologians or Thinkers, but is in good faith extended to all who feel an interest in the examination of the question above stated. There are many who believe that a supernatural Revelation has been given to man; many others who deny this, and a large number who are afflicted with perplexing doubts—trembling between the silent skepticism of their reason and the fear of absolute denial. In issuing a call for a Convention, we have in view the correction of error, *by which party soever entertained*, and the relief of those who stand between doubt and fear, from their embarrassing position.

Some may have no doubt that the Jewish and Christian Scriptures have subserved an important end, and yet believe their mission is nearly completed, and must be superseded by a new dispensation; some may believe that their influence has been prejudicial in every respect, and that they have been a curse rather than a blessing to mankind; others may believe them a perfect record of the Divine will to man—good in the past and for all time to come; and others still may deny the plenary inspiration of the Bible, discarding much of the Old Testament, and receiving most or all of the New. Still, such diversity of opinion, instead of prejudicing the interest and good results which ought to attend such a Convention, will rather tend to increase its interest and enhance its value to the cause of Truth.

Doubtless a free interchange of thought is the best mode of exciting inquiry, and of arriving at the Truth.

'He who has a Truth, and keeps it,
Keeps what not to him belongs;
But performs a selfish action,
And his fellow mortal wrongs.'

We invite, therefore, all who feel an interest in this question, without distinction of sex, color, sect or party, to come together, that we may sit down like brethren in a communion before the altar of intellectual and spiritual Freedom.

Now, that I was present at this Convention, and did what the *Chronicle* alleges, is true; but not as President of the American Anti-Slavery Society, nor as an abolitionist, but simply as a man, on my own responsibility, and *so explicitly declaring at the time.* Who but a bigot in heart, or a despot in spirit, will question my right to attend such a convention, and to be true to my own convictions? Or who but a simpleton or a knave will maintain that the American Anti-Slavery Society is to be held responsible for an act with which it had no more to do than with the attack on Sebastopol? Or who but one assuming to wear the robes of papal infallibility will presume to set me down as a heretic or an infidel, because I will not surrender my reason, judgment and conscience at his dictation, and allow him to play the usurper over me? Who the editor of the *Chronicle* is, I neither know, nor care to know, beyond what is clearly manifest to my mind in his case—and that is, that not one drop of genuine *Protestant* blood is running in his veins; that, had he lived in the days of Jesus, he would have piously clamored for his crucifixion, having 'heard his blasphemy,' and seen that he was 'not of God,' because he did not keep the sabbath-day; that he is hostile alike to the rights of man and to the gospel of freedom; and that he is not an avowed Romanist, only because he happens to reside in Scotland, and not in Italy. I judge him as Jesus did certain godly pretenders when he exclaimed, 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, 'If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets. Fill ye up, then, the measure of your fathers!'

Whatever my religious sentiments may be, (and this is neither the time nor the place to state or defend them,) I cherish them with the deepest sincerity, conscientiously believing that they are strictly in accordance with the angelic song, 'Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace; good will towards men'—and reverently accepting the apostolic declaration, 'So, then, every one of us shall give account of himself to God,' not to any human tribunal!

The cry of 'infidelity' from Protestant lips, on account of a difference of religious belief to any extent whatever, is an express repudiation of the grand fundamental Protestant doctrine of the right of private judgment and individual conscience, against all papal domination and ecclesiastical authority. The Romish Church consistently includes all Protestants in its category of heretics and infidels, from MARTIN LUTHER to THOMAS PAINE, and justly laughs to scorn the pharisaical, sectarian pretensions which exist among Dissenters. Concede the right to every soul to decide for itself what is true, or what is inspired, and no man can be an infidel, except he be false to his own standard, or to his own professions or pledges. This opprobrious epithet, therefore, should be banished from the vocabulary of all Protestants; and no lover of mental freedom, no just and upright mind, will ever resort to it, to stain the character or destroy the influence of any one. To be in an error, theologically or religiously, is no proof of infidelity; for if the errorist be sincere in his opinion, and true to his own conscience, there is no higher fidelity beneath the stars. The Protestant who shouts 'infidel' is a Papist in disguise; just as a Democratic advocate of chattel slavery is an absolute tyrant in principle.

But with all this, the American Anti-Slavery Society has no concern. It is a simple association, organized for a specific object, on a common platform, requiring as the condition of membership only an assent to the doctrine, that slaveholding is under all circumstances inexcusable, and that immediate emancipation is the duty of the master and the right of the slave. It has no theological or party test. It takes, and can take, no cognizance of the peculiar religious or political views of its members; it is not responsible for any thing they may say or do in their individual capacity; it leaves them as free to promulgate their distinctive opinions on all subjects, outside of its own chosen sphere, as the air of heaven to circulate. In all these respects, it is precisely like the temperance, peace, suffrage, anti-corn law, and other general movements for the promotion of the common welfare; like them, amenable only for what it does in its official capacity, but made up of persons of all conflicting opinions on other subjects, who surrender nothing by coming together, and who endorse nothing but the rectitude of the object they aim to accomplish. It is a low device, therefore, on the part of its enemies, and indicative of any thing but true sympathy for the fettered slave, to make it responsible for my views, or those of any other officer or member, respecting the Bible, the Sabbath, or any other controverted question. When it is 'infidel' to the cause of the oppressed—when it misapplies the funds contributed to its treasury—when, for the sake of numbers, popularity, or means, it compromises its principles or weakens its testimonies—then let it be abandoned by all genuine abolitionists; but not till then.

More I have not time to add before the mail closes. What more need be added?

For your faithful coöperation with us, my dear friend, 'through evil report and through good report,' I remain, gratefully,

Yours, to break every yoke,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

INDIA: the Pearl of Pearl River. By EMMA D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH, author of 'Deserted Wife,' 'Lost Heiress,' &c. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson. 1856.

Mrs. Southworth says that the leading incidents of her story were suggested by circumstances in the life of a near relative, long since deceased. The hero of it is Mark Sutherland, the son of a Southern planter, who, after completing his collegiate education at the North, returns to the South, becomes affianced to a fascinating young lady, styled 'India, the Pearl of Pearl River,' but, before the marriage is consummated, avows to her and her parents his moral conviction of the sinfulness of slaveholding, and his determination to emancipate every slave in his possession without delay, and, after freeing them, 'to place them in a situation of happier circumstances for the present, and more hopeful probabilities for their future lives.' The natural results follow:—he is at once discarded by the proud India, every device having been exhausted upon him in vain to make him dishonor his conscience and abandon his noble purpose—reduced to honorable poverty, he leaves the South, and migrates to the West, 'abandoning the luxuries he has been accustomed to, and settling down in his rude log hut, determines to conquer fortune with his own good right hand.' He finally rises to the position of a Senator in Congress, animated by the same spirit of freedom and unconquerable sense of justice which led him to break the chains of those who had passed into his possession as so much *bona fide* slave property. The story is narrated in an attractive manner, and, though containing no other reflection upon the wrongfulness of slavery than is found in the act which Mark Sutherland felt himself compelled to perform, will serve to aid the cause of universal emancipation. There is nothing in it to exclude it from general circulation at the South, except among those who have lost their reason on the subject of slavery. It makes a handsome volume of 400 pages.

For sale by John P. Jewett & Co., Washington street, Boston.

THE CATHOLIC:—Letters addressed by a Jurist to a Young Kinsman proposing to join the Church of Rome. By E. H. DERBY. Boston: Published by John P. Jewett & Co. 1856.

These letters, though purely theological, are from the pen of a member of the legal profession, in active practice in this city, and evince a commendable solicitude for the religious welfare of a young kinsman to whom they were addressed, and who had suddenly conceived the idea that the Church of Rome was the only primitive, apostolic and catholic church, and apprised the author that he should, in his next vacation, apply to a Roman Catholic bishop for baptism. He was, however, dissuaded from his purpose by these Letters, which are now published for the enlightenment of others. The author has tested the claims and faith of the Church of Rome, not by the writings of its opponents, but by those authorities on which that Church relies, namely, those early saints, fathers and popes, Augustine, Clement, Irenæus, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Jerome, Athanasius, Leo, and others revered by the church itself, and, in many instances, inscribed on its tree of saints and martyrs. The work displays research, learning and ability, without any bitterness of spirit, and will be found very convenient for reference by all inquirers and students as to the true character of the Romish Church. Here is a charge, however, that any Romanist in this country might throw back upon American Protestantism, so far at least as one seventh portion of the American people are concerned. Mr. Derby says:—

'The Romish Church has withdrawn the Holy Scriptures as far as possible from the people. Witness the late acts of the Pope, and the recent persecutions in Tuscany and Piedmont, and refer to the history of Europe for the last twelve centuries. Even while I write, the evening papers inform me that, within the last thirty days, the Romish priests have imprisoned a whole family in Piedmont, for presuming to read the translated Scriptures, and even our national flag has been lately violated by the seizure of the Bibles in an American ship in Sicily.'

And while Mr. Derby was writing, four millions of slaves, under the American flag, were prohibited by law from learning to read or to possess the Bible, by a Protestant, evangelical people, professing to regard that volume as the inspired word of God, and the only rule of religious faith and practice!

LEO L. LLOYD.

☞ Last week, the *Boston Journal* contained a characteristic article, stating that 'Leo L. LLOYD,' the pseudo African prince, had called upon him, and stated that the reason why THE LIBERATOR had advertised him as an impostor was, 'because he was a colonizationist'!—the editor eagerly swallowing the lie, and adding a falsehood of his own thereto by saying, that this 'would account for any slanderous and unfounded charges' we might make against Lloyd. Seeing that the editor of the *Journal* was readily becoming accessory to fraud and imposture in this case, through his own malignant prejudices against the anti-slavery cause in general, and THE LIBERATOR in special, we sent to him a letter for insertion in his paper, a portion of which he published as below, accompanied by the following comments:—

THE AFRICAN PRINCE AGAIN.

Our attention has again been directed to the colored individual, Leo L. Lloyd, who claims to be a son of the late King of Nubia, by a letter from William Lloyd Garrison, the editor of the *Liberator*. Mr. Garrison takes umbrage at our remark, that the fact that Lloyd is a colonizationist would account for any slanderous and unfounded charges which the *Liberator* might make against him. Mr. Garrison professes to see in this remark an attack upon his character for veracity, than which nothing was further from our thoughts. A man may give utterance to slanderous and unfounded charges, and at the same time believe them to be true, and this may have been the case in the present instance. What we intended to convey in the remark to which Mr. Garrison refers was simply, that the hostility of the *Liberator* to the colonization scheme would be likely to distort its opinions upon kindred topics, and make its statements prejudiced and unreliable. The fact of a black man being a colonizationist is an unpardonable offence in the estimation of abolitionists of the Garrisonian school, and would justify any amount of detraction and abuse.

Mr. Garrison informs us that the charges made against Lloyd in the *Liberator* 'were not from his pen, but were contained in a communication written by a well known and highly respectable colored citizen of Boston, and published by him on his own responsibility, as an act of justice to the public, without any editorial endorsement.' Mr. Garrison says he was not aware that Lloyd was a colonizationist, and consequently did not publish the caution to 'beware of an impostor,' with any feeling of animosity towards him on that account. He says:

'That the certificates which Lloyd has obtained from prominent and honored citizens would, at first view, lead any one to suppose that there could be no deception in the case, is true; but it is none the less true that he has hoaxed them all, with singular facility and success. It is only another proof how easily recommendations are obtained, where the object is professedly humane, and the suppliant identified with a suffering class.

'You refer to a certificate in his possession, ostensibly signed by certain 'explorers in Southern and Western Africa, who testify to his zeal, fidelity, and powers of endurance!' If you had examined the original document, as you should have done, you would have readily detected the naked imposture; it being characterized by gross illiterateness, and *in the handwriting of Lloyd himself!* It bears all the marks of his own composition, as you will see on comparing it with a communication from Lloyd published in this week's *Liberator*. I have not yet been able to see the original 'certificate from a trader and hunter on the Western coast of Africa,' to which you allude; but I have no doubt it is a forgery, and will so appear on examination.

'He is regarded by our colored citizens generally as an adroit impostor. Indeed, I do not know of one among them disposed to credit his story, and they are glad he has at last been exposed. I have scarcely any more doubt that he was born in this country, (Bayard Taylor's certificate, genuine or otherwise, to the contrary notwithstanding,) than I have that Franklin Pierce was born in New Hampshire. It is immaterial, however, where he was born. The only important question is, is he obtaining money under false pretences? Of this I have no doubt whatever.'

We know nothing of Lloyd, but should be quite as ready to denounce him as an impostor as Mr. Garrison himself, if we were convinced of his unworthiness. But as we have before remarked, after reading the numerous testimonials which he possesses, from gentlemen who stood high in the estimation of the community, we prefer to believe that he is worthy of the public confidence, until we have positive evidence to the contrary. Such evidence is not furnished in either of the articles in the *Liberator*, although statements are made in those articles which should be noticed by the friends of Lloyd. We presume that the gentlemen whose names Lloyd is using, and who are aiding him to obtain an education, would be the first to denounce him, if they were convinced that he was wilfully imposing upon the public.

With regard to the certificate to which Mr. Garrison alludes, it is true that we did not examine the original document, but the one exhibited to us was certified to as a copy of the original, by the Rev. S. K. Lothrop. The copy of the certificate published in the *Liberator* of this week was evidently written by an illiterate person, and differs in spelling and punctuation from the one which was exhibited to us. We take it for granted, however, that Mr. Lothrop must have been convinced that the certificate of which he certified a copy was a genuine document, or he would not have lent the use of his name to give it authenticity.

We would not be understood as endorsing the claims of Leo L. Lloyd to the public confidence, but have simply given the grounds for our belief that injustice may have been done him. We should be glad to have a statement from any of the gentemen who have interested themselves in his behalf as to his true character, believing that the public have a right to know how far he is entitled to their sympathy and encouragement.

Notwithstanding we clearly proved Lloyd to be an impostor, the manufacturer of his own 'original' credentials, the *Journal* criminally persists in attempting to shield him from the condemnation bestowed upon him, and takes refuge in 'the numerous testimonials' obtained from such men as Edward Everett and Rufus Choate,—how obtained they best know!

The *Journal* blunders in saying that the Rev. S. K. Lothrop certified to a copy of a certain document in Lloyd's possession: it was a son of the clergyman, and who says he gave the certificate, at the request of Lloyd, not knowing how it was to be used, and meaning nothing more by it than that the language was the same, without reference to its orthography.

The *Journal*, referring to its declaration, (which it basely reiterates,) that THE LIBERATOR would deem it perfectly justifiable to libel the character, and denounce as guilty of imposture, any black man favorable to the colonization scheme, says—'Mr. Garrison professes to see in this remark an attack upon his character for veracity, than which nothing was further from our thoughts'!! He only meant his vile imputation to be understood in a Pickwickian sense! And then he goes on to repeat it, in the same offensive terms.

We refer the *Journal* to the additional evidence of Lloyd's fraudulent career to be found in our present number, furnished by reliable witnesses; and we call upon it to shield the public from further imposition by letting all the material facts in this case be known to its readers.

NEW MUSIC. We have received a handsomely bound volume of 143 pages, entitled 'MENDELSSOHN'S FOUR-PART SONGS, complete, with English and German Words. The English Version by J. C. D. PARKER. Boston: Published by Oliver Ditson.' It is a valuable collection, embracing a great variety of Songs, some of which might be omitted with advantage, such as the Drinking-Songs.

We are indebted to G. P. Reed & Co., 18 Tremont Street, for various pieces of music—such as, Selections from Il Trouvatore, by H. Cramer; Home, a transcription of the ballad, 'The dearest spot on earth to me is home,' as sung by Miss Adelaide Phillips, and prepared for the piano by Adolph Baumbach; La Dance; Aria, 'How to bind my Euridice'; Romance, 'Still for thee, my native land'; The Groves of Blarney, a highly popular comic song, as sung by Mr. F. A. Searle—words by Tyrone Power, Esq. Arranged by L. J. B.

SECTARIANISM. As we cannot perceive any principle involved in the objection raised by our esteemed friend, GEORGE SUNTER, Jr., against the American Anti-Slavery Society, that it is sectarian because it confines itself to the specific work of abolishing slavery, and does not tolerate the discussion of every other question under the sun at its meetings, we see no utility in making any further criticisms upon his (to us) impracticable views on the subject of organization. In his present state of mind, he does well to stand aloof from every associated movement.

LEO LLOYD, PRINCE OF HUMBUGS.

As we were the first to call attention to the gross impositions of Leo Lloyd, we have felt it our duty to seek for other facts concerning this hitherto obscure individual. Mr. Lemuel Burr of Cambridge, a man of undoubted veracity, who was Lloyd's employer when he worked in Brattle street, under the name of Baker, informed us that, some months after the latter had been with him, a stranger came into the shop to be shaved, and, recognizing the journeyman barber, shook hands with him, and called him by a different name from that of Baker. When the stranger left the shop, Mr. Burr asked his journeyman why he had changed his name to Baker. The latter replied, that he had reasons for doing so. From this answer, Mr. Burr came to the conclusion that the young man had made his escape from slavery, and feared being retaken, and therefore took to himself a new name. The stranger was from the Western States. A few weeks later, another man, on coming into the shop, addressed Baker by the name of Stuart, and the two entered into a familiar conversation about Nova Scotia. The employer again interrogated his workman about the change of his name. The reply was the same as before. Mr. Burr's suspicions were now aroused, and he paid stricter attention to Baker, and says he found him out to be the '*awfulest liar*' he ever heard talk. On one occasion, he pretended to a gentleman that he had visited the Crystal Palace in London, talked about the interior of the building, and satisfied the stranger that he had been there. When the man had gone, he confessed that he knew nothing of the Great Exhibition, except what he had gathered from the newspepers. After Baker had obtained 'Moffat's Travels in South Africa' from his employer, and the latter heard that the former was narrating his exploits in Nubia, Mr. Burr inquired of Baker if it was true that he was telling such falsehoods. The young barber replied that he thought something could be made out of the Colonizationists by pretending that he was an African. The imposter confessed to his employer that he knew nothing of Africa, and made no pretentions to being the son of a king. Says Mr. Burr, 'He sent me a ticket to attend his lecture, and I was truly astonished to learn that the lying fellow was passing himself off as a *prince*.' When in the company of religious persons, Baker, alias Leo Lloyd, alias the 'Prince of Nubia,' pretends to be very religious himself. And even where he finds that a penny is to be made by 'stealing the livery of heaven to serve the devil in,' he never fails to do it. For instance, last winter, he called upon the Rev. Mr. Grimes, of the Second Baptist Church, and pretended that he had been suddenly converted, and wished to have an opportunity of 'exhorting his young companions to flee from the wrath to come.' Mr. Grimes, as he says, 'Feeling that Lloyd might be an instrument in the hands of the Lord of doing good,' obtained permission of his deacons for the prince to tell his religious experience in his church. Handbills and tickets were printed and sent out, and the people crowded in great numbers to see the 'only heir to the throne of Nubia.' Yes, colored people are as fond of being humbugged as the whites. 'Brother Lloyd' told the story of what he had suffered in his '*own native land*,' and then gave an account of 'the new light which had been shed abroad in his own soul.' Great was the rejoicing in Southac street that night. Not only another soul had been saved, but a *prince*, through whose veins the Royal blood of Nubia flowed, had come into the fold. The 'prince' warned his associates against 'ball rooms, and all such sinful places of amusement.'

The meeting broke up at a late hour, the congregation went home in high glee, and the 'prince' returned to his boarding place with a pocket filled with ten cent pieces. Yes, the people had been fleeced. At the very first dance given after Lloyd's conversion, the 'prince' was at his place in the ball-room, and some thought that he danced better than before he 'got religion.'

The next news we hear of His Royal Highness, he is in New York, where, by exhibiting the printed handbill showing that he had spoken in Mr. Grimes's church, he succeeds in taking in the religious community in Gotham. In his lecture in Rev. Dr. Pennington's church, Lloyd announced as his subject, 'The Women of the Nineteenth Century.' But the only woman of note which he noticed was 'Mother Baker,' who had cured him with herbs, on one occasion.

In Providence, Lloyd undertook to deliver a lecture on *Good Manners*, but soon left his subject, and began expatiating on men and things in Africa. 'Some people,' said he, 'think that the natives of my country have no genius, but they are mistaken. I have conversed with men in Nubia, whose intelligence would do honor to the people of any country. For instance: on one occasion, when several of the Royal family were together, the subject of *rats* came up, for the palace had been much injured in its foundation by these troublesome little animals, which in Nubia are larger than the rats of America,—when Prince Fogo, a cousin of mine, was asked his opinion. He replied that "the rat that had the shortest tail could get into the hole first."' 'There,' said Lloyd to his audience, 'is an idea worthy of Shakspeare, or any Anglo-Saxon! That 's an original idea, which ought to be handed down to posterity.'

I have inquired of more than half a dozen persons who heard the above flight of Nubian eloquence, and am satisfied that I have

without money and without shoes. He came to my house and stated his troubles and trials, and I felt very much moved to see His Royal Highness in such a condition, and did what I could to place him on his feet again,—for which he seemed very thankful.

It was said—very much to the injury of the reputation of the Prince in that neighborhood—that he was seen to be a little too free with the glass at the tavern. This the Prince denied, and wished me to go with him to the tavern, and see the landlord. I did so, and the landlord testified to his good behavior while there.

On leaving, he promised to send us some testimonials of good character. It is needless to say that we have never received them. By the way, the first time he came, he showed me a recommendation purporting to be from an African trading house in London. This document gave an account of his origin, and the object of his visit to this country, and recommended him to public confidence. He also stated that he was a delegate to the Colored Men's Convention at New York.

I state these few simple facts that the public may be on their guard. The anti-slavery people of Bridgewater had no confidence in him, and he could not have spoken the second time.

Yours, for the right, J. A. F.

LETTER FROM PROF. NICHOL.

OBSERVATORY, GLASGOW, 27th Feb., 1856.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

MY DEAR SIR,—In your paper of Feb. 8th, which has just reached me, I find a letter signed H., copied from the *Edgefield Advertiser*, purporting to describe the meeting of the British Association in Glasgow. With that letter as a whole, I have nothing to do, as it merely offers the opinions of the writer. But there is one misstatement in it, as to facts, in reference to myself, that I am not willing to permit to circulate among your readers unaccompanied by my decisive contradiction. The paragraph I refer to is the following :—

'This was followed by Prof. N——, in a most ingenious article on the geological formation in the moon. * * * When he took his seat, Sir John Ross, an old, gray-headed, sturdy sailor, wearing several medals, a white vest, and a deep scarlet neckcloth, rose to say, that as for those beautiful drawings on which the Professor founded his opinions, they were the result of the observation of his telescope, and that he had been accustomed to produce them for the amusement of ladies. This was a terrible revelation, and Sir David Brewster, a handsome old gentleman, rose to smooth it over.'

I do not wish that any of my old friends in America should suppose that any statement of this kind could have been made in my presence, without being immediately answered by myself, or that I would have left it to any one to smooth it over. The correspondent of the *Advertiser* must have been misled by the low and rather indistinct way in which the veteran and gallant admiral spoke. His statement was, that the appearances on which I rested my opinions were owing to what he called the *aberration* of the telescope, and that he had often seen them. I did not reply to Sir John Ross, partly because I did not in the least understand what he meant, either by that remark, or by his subsequent account of some new telescope at present making in Kilmarnock, and partly because he had very evidently misapprehended the aim of my paper. I did indeed exhibit drawings made at the Observatory, that brought out certain special features of the moon more clearly than I had ever seen done before ; but the point on which I insisted was mainly the *interpretation* of those lineaments. As to any drawings of the moon by Sir John Ross, I could not have expressed obligations to them, because I have not only never seen them, but have never heard of them.

You will easily excuse my desire to correct this mistake on the part of the correspondent of the *Advertiser*; and perhaps you will further oblige me by sending to that paper a slip containing my present letter.

We have had much pleasure in seeing and frequently hearing from your excellent fellow-laborer, Mr. Pillsbury. Alas ! that the United States so obstinately refuse to acknowledge their real weakness—that disorganizing and depressing element which alone prevents them from rising into the noblest and mightiest State on which the sun has yet ever shone ! I bid you God speed !

Ever, very faithfully yours,

J. P. NICHOL.

☞We published the letter from the Edgefield *Advertiser*, (written undoubtedly by a Southern slaveholder,) wishing our esteemed friend Prof. NICHOL to see it, and not doubting that he would readily make such a correction of any misstatement (intentional or otherwise) contained therein, as the case might seem to require. He has promptly done so, in the above letter. —*Ed. Lib.*

LETTER FROM REV. MR. MELLEN.

GLOUCESTER, March 14, 1856.

MR. EDITOR :

Judge of my surprise, on opening THE LIBERATOR to-day, to discover on the last page a portion—for it is no more—of a correspondence to which I was, some years ago, a party. You say the letters fell into your hands during a recent visit to Auburn, N. Y. The person who furnished them certainly acted quite unadvisedly. At the time of the occurrence of the correspondence, I was quite earnestly entreated to consent to its publication ; but thinking that all such controversies had better terminate with the parties more directly interested, I declined acceding to that request. A few persons, however, who desired, were permitted to take copies of a part or all the letters. Its present unauthorised appearance in print, so long after its date, is, therefore, not a little annoying. Something not unlike a breach of trust seems to have been perpetrated by the person from whom the correspondence was received.

My reason for complaining of the publication is not that I now think the reproof administered by the second letter too severe ; but because some unacquainted with the parties and the peculiar circumstances might so regard it, and because I dislike exceedingly any such newspaper notoriety as its appearance may give.

Will you please insert this note in next week's LIBERATOR, and oblige,

Yours, truly, W. R. G. MELLEN.

☞Mr. MELLEN is assured that the esteemed friend at Auburn, who allowed us to take a copy of the correspondence to which he refers, for publication in our paper, would never intentionally be guilty of 'a breach of trust' ; and as his part of the correspondence was highly honorable to himself, and each party was allowed to speak in his own case, we cannot understand why he is so sensitive about it. Such arrogant bigotry as was exhibited towards him, it seems to us, in view of all the circumstances, fully justifies the publication of the letters we ventured to insert in our columns.

THE BOSTON CORRESPONDENT OF THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.

BOSTON, March 20, 1856.

MR. WM. LLOYD GARRISON :

DEAR SIR,—Rev. Hubbard Winslow has been referred to in the columns of THE LIBERATOR, as the Boston correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*. He may have been such in times past, and may be an occasional correspondent now ; but the regular correspondent of that sheet is Rev. Luther Farnum, Librarian of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He was from Concord, N. H., was a schoolmate of mine at that place, and I am personally cognizant of the fact that he is the author of several of the recent pro-slavery contributions to that paper, under the head of 'Boston Correspondence.' Yours, truly, W. B. T.

☞Infamy to whom infamy is due, though no injustice was done to HUBBARD WINSLOW by our attributing certain articles to him, as he would unquestionably endorse them all. The *Journal of Commerce* has never intimated that we have mistaken the name of its Boston correspondent.—*Ed. Lib.*

DR. HEBBARD'S POEM.

'The poem opened with a picture of the Goddess of Liberty amid the ruins of Rome. Despairing of ever finding a habitation on the globe, she prays to be taken back to heaven. Her sister, Hope, descends to cheer her, with the prophecy of a new and better land, far o'er the sea. Liberty then, pluming her wings, leaves the old world, and seeks a dwelling-place in the new. She greets the Pilgrims on their arrival ; and here the poet gives a beautiful and glowing picture of the past and present physical condition of our country. By an easy transition from this, the attention is called to the two grand extremes that have met upon the new continent—Freedom and Slavery—Heaven and Hell ; and these culminating in the 'Compromise.' At this point, a perfect torrent of sarcasm, wit and invective is poured forth.

Again fresh pictures open to the view, in which the boast of Toombs of Georgia, the Fugitive Slave Law, the chaining of the court-house, the verdict of Judge Loring, the rendition of Sims and Burns, the case of Passmore Williamson, the Kansas iniquities, the Cincinnati rendition, are most vividly brought to view.

Some extremely happy hits are brought out in the poem—those especially on 'State Rights,' 'Squatter Sovereignty,' and *halter act* of 'Boston Gentlemen of Standing.' Many of its pictures have a thrilling interest ; particularly that of the slave mother fleeing to Freedom's altar, and daring upon her sacred shrine to sacrifice her infants rather than that they should be rendered back to slavery.'—*Boston Telegraph.*

THE ANTI-SLAVERY POEM delivered by Dr. Hebbard at the Tremont Temple last evening, was listened to with profound attention, and often with enthusiastic applause. Its points of absorbing interest are numerous and well sustained. Its witty and pungent hits are, many of them, extremely happy ; its pictures bold and impressive—that especially of the slave mother sacrificing her children on 'Freedom's altar,' rather than deliver them to the demon of Slavery, (alluding to the late Cincinnati case,) is grand and tragic.

The poem was delivered with much effect in many of the parts, but owing to some circumstance, perhaps to the disappointment in not seeing a larger audience, there appeared to be some depression. The speaker's voice is rotund and musical, and his manner shows that he possesses vigorous oratorical powers.—*Transcript.*

TERRIBLE CATRASTROPHE.

PHILADELPHIA, March 15.

About half-past 9 o'clock, to-night, the ferry boat New Jersey, while crossing the Delaware to Camden, took fire in the middle of the stream. There being a great deal of floating ice in the river, much difficulty was experienced in managing the vessel, and she was finally run upon the bar opposite Arch street. About 100 passengers were on board, many of whom jumped into the river and were rescued by boats, and others saved themselves by clinging to floating ice. It is feared that a large number are drowned. The boat is now burnt to the water's edge. Great confusion prevails, and it is impossible to gather authentic details. Steamers immediately went to the assistance of the passengers, but they had previously been saved by small boats. Capt. James Robinson saved eight men and two women. It is now thought that the loss of life will reach fifty. Many leaped into the river with their clothes on fire. Miss Carman was last seen with her clothing in a blaze. The coroner's inquest is in session.

Three dead bodies were found altogether—John Little of Camden, Francis Fitzpatrick of Philadelphia, and Abraham Jennie. The origin of the fire is unknown. It burst suddenly from the fire room, and spread immediately.

The pilot-house fell in when the boat was nearing the wharf, rendering her unmanageable. From disarrangement of the tiller cables, her head sheered from the wharf, and the engine could not be stopped, as the engineer was driven from his post by the flames, and the boat carried the remaining passengers away from the land. The number of dead and missing is about 50.

The excitement along the wharf continues to increase as the bodies are brought ashore, while around the Cherry street Station House the crowd is intense. The street is literally jammed with people of both sexes.

The Coroner designs putting a six-pounder field-piece in requisition this afternoon, for the purpose of causing the bodies still under the water to rise to the surface.

The number of bodies recovered up to this time is eighteen. As several of these are persons who were not before missed, it swells the estimated aggregate loss seriously. The total number of victims will be more apt to exceed fifty than to fall short of that terrible aggregate.

PHILADELPHIA, Monday, 10 P. M. Parties have been engaged all day in dragging the river. Fifteen bodies were recovered to-day, making twenty in all. About thirty persons are still missing. The Coroner's investigation has not been concluded.

FUGITIVE SLAVES. The General Assembly of Virginia has passed a resolution requesting the representatives of that State in Congress 'to secure the passage of a bill making full compensation to all owners whose slaves have or may hereafter escape into any of the non-slaveholding States of this Union, and *are withheld* from those to whom such service or labor may be due.' We think they will hardly be able to 'secure' this object at present.

The Mayor of Cincinnati has determined to put a stop to the practice of the police of that city spending their time in hunting the poor fugitives from slavery. He thinks they neglect their proper duties in the city for the sake of the rewards offered. They have been in the practice of making arrests without warrants. The Mayor holds that the city police have nothing to do with fugitive slaves, unless called upon by the U. S. officers to aid them.

☞A petition is before the Legislature of Kentucky from the citizens of Boone and Kenton counties, asking for an appropriation from the public treasury, to defray the expenses of A. K. Gaines and James Marshall, incurred in reclaiming their fugitive slaves in Cincinnati ; and also praying for the raising by tax of a State fund to be expended by the citizens of Kentucky in such cases.

Mr. Bailey, who was in Cincinnati at the late Republican Convention, asking subscriptions to the Newport (Ky.) *Daily-News*, of which he is editor, says :

'The citizens of Boone and Kenton counties,—magnanimous and generous, as they would have us imagine them,—will probably next petition the General Government for an appropriation from the treasury of the United States to pay the expenses incurred by them in having their boots blacked, or in purchasing the proper materials wherewith to tar and feather school teachers.'

Mr. Bailey naively inquires :

'Why not, at the same time, petition the Legislature to capture their hogs, horses and cattle, and bring them back, and then say, you may pay the expenses incurred out of the State fund ?'

A FUGITIVE SLAVE IN LIVERPOOL. The American ship Asterion, Capt. Day, which arrived in the Mersey on Saturday evening, brought to the free shores of England a slave woman, under rather peculiar circumstances. It appears that, while the ship was loading in New Orleans, the poor creature made her escape, whereupon her master offered a reward of $500 to any one who would restore to him his 'property.' The police, as is usual in such cases, made strict search throughout the city and on board the vessels in the harbor, but she eluded their vigilance, and found a friend in the ship's boatswain, who secretly conveyed her on board the Asterion, and kept her in his berth during the whole of the passage, which occupied about 25 days. The strangest part of the narrative is, that with the exception of her liberator, the boatswain, her presence in the ship was unknown to the captain, officers and crew. When the vessel anchored in the Mersey, the custom-house officers went on board, and, while one of them was rummaging in the boatswain's berth, he found her concealed among the bed-clothes, in a state of nudity, having on only a waist belt and a turban. Wearing apparel was soon provided, and she was removed on shore, and taken to a boarding-house in Queen-street ; a free woman. She is a mulatto about 20 or 25 years of age, and appeared to have been well treated during the voyage. The boatswain and the whole of the crew of the Asterion are colored men.—*London Empire.*

☞Hon. JOHN P. HALE will accept our thanks for the first Congressional Volume of Reports of Explorations and Surveys to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a Railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean ; made under the direction of the Secretary of War in 1853–4, according to acts of Congress. It makes 651 pages quarto.

MRS. WEBB. The embargo laid upon travelling in the West by the great amount of snow has interfered with many of Mrs. Webb's engagements ; notwithstanding which she has received, in several places, a very gratifying degree of commendation. She is expected east soon, to fulfil engagements.

☞Rev. Thomas E. Bond, late editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York, died on Friday of last week, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was an influential member of the Methodist religious society, and one of the most subtle and determined opponents of the anti-slavery cause from the beginning.

THE CINCINNATI SLAVES — ANOTHER THRILLING SCENE IN THE TRAGEDY.

Gov. Chase, of Ohio, made a requisition upon Gov. Morehead, of Kentucky, for the slave woman Peggy, charged with the murder of her child at Cincinnati. It was understood that Peggy was held subject to this demand ; but on Friday, the 7th, she was sent to Louisville, and shipped on board the Henry Lewis, which left that port on the evening of that day for the South. The Cincinnati *Commercial* gives an account of the whole affair, which we abridge somewhat.

On Thursday, Joe Cooper, of Springfield, left for Frankfort, with the requisition. It is supposed that his errand leaked out, for when he reached Frankfort, Gaines with the negroes was on his way to Louisville. Gov. Morehead granted the necessary documents, and when Cooper returned from his fruitless search, he expressed himself warmly indignant at the conduct of Gaines, saying that that individual had trifled with him and deceived him, and had insulted the dignity of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

'On the train of cars for Frankfort which conveyed Cooper, were four slaves of Gaines, being sent South. They had attempted to escape after the flight of Margaret and the others, but had been overtaken on the Kentucky side. One of them was a very likely and rather pretty mulatto girl, which our informant said Cooper had a great notion to buy, to save her from the Southern excursion to which she was destined. These negroes were in charge of Marshal Butts, of Covington, who did not permit them to tarry at Frankfort, but put them on the first train for Louisville, and with them Margaret. So that, it appears, Cooper arrived in Frankfort before Margaret was taken away. After Cooper's interview with the Governor, he took the first train for Louisville, and reached that town two hours after the Henry Lewis had started. He thenreturned to Cincinnati.'

Now comes the most interesting part of the story. The Henry Lewis, on her passage down the river, came in collision with another steamer and was much damaged, and several lives were lost. The *Commercial* gives the narrative of events as follows :—

'When the accident occurred to the Henry Lewis, the negroes were in the nursery, (as a place between the cabin and steerage in the stern of the boat is called,) ironed by couples. After the disaster, they were heard calling for help and to be relieved of their handcuffs. Some one happened to be on hand to save them. Margaret had her child—the infant that she hit on the head with the shovel when arrested here—in her arms; but by the shock of the boat that came to the assistance of the Lewis, (as one story goes,) she was thrown into the river with her child and a white woman, who was one of the steerage passengers, and who was standing by her at the moment. This woman and the child were drowned, but a black man, the cook on the Lewis, sprang into the river, and saved Margaret, who, it is said, displayed frantic joy when told that her child was drowned, and said she would never reach alive Gaines' Landing, in Arkansas, the point to which she was shipped—thus indicating her intention to drown herself.

Another report is, that, as soon as she had an opportunity, she threw her child into the river, and jumped after it. Still another story has it, that she tried to jump upon the boat alongside, but fell short. It is only certain that she was in the river with her child, and that it was drowned, while she was saved by the prompt energy of the cook. We are told by one of the officers of the boat, that Peggy was the only female among the slaves. It is probable, therefore, that the story about the good-looking mulatto girl, who was being sent South, and attracted attention and sympathy, is a romance. The last that was seen of Peggy, she was on the Hungarian, crouching like a wild animal near the stove, with a blanket wrapped around her. Our readers will, we presume, be struck with the dramatic features of the Fugitive Slave Case, and that it progresses like a plot wrought by some master of tragedy.

First, there were the flight and the crossing of the frozen river in the twilight of morning, the place of fancied security, the surprise by the officers, the fight with them, the murder of the child, the arrest, the scenes about the court-room and in the jail, the long suspense, the return to Kentucky, the removal to Frankfort, the separation there, the approach of the messenger with the requisition for Peggy, her removal to Louisville, the pursuit of the messenger, the boat on which she was to have been taken South leaving two hours ahead of Cooper, with the writ from Gov. Morehead—then the speedy catastrophe to the steamer, the drowning of the babe of the heroine, and her own rescue, as if yet saved for some more fearful and startling act of the tragedy; and, lastly, the curtain falls, leaving her wet and dismal, on a boat bound South, perfectly careless as to her own fate, only determined never to set her foot on the soil of Arkansas. There is something fearfully tragic about this, which must occur to every mind, and we shall look with much interest for information of the catastrophe which will complete the dramatic unity of the affair.

'And here an incident, related to us as occurring during the awful moments when the Henry Lewis was sinking and breaking, suggests itself to us. It is not wholly authentic, but is worth telling, any how. Marshal Butts, of Covington, who had charge of the negroes, is said to have been inflated somewhat with the importance of his position, and talked of his charge as his niggers, and displayed an immense amount of cutlery and fire-arms, with which he expressed himself resolved to slaughter whole armies of Abolitionists ; and it happened that he exchanged some sharp words with a gentleman on the steamer about the Fugitive Slave case, &c. When the accident occurred, he was in his room, and one of the tables rolling against his door, he could not get out, and yelled tremendously for assistance. Some persons heard him, and went to work cutting a hole through the roof to let him out. The most active of those so engaged was the man with whom he had had the quarrel.

'When a hole was made large enough to let the rescuer and the prisoner communicate with each other, but not sufficient to crawl through, the man with the axe learned for the first time whom he was laboring to save, and called out, "Hallo, Butts, is that you? D—n you, if I'd known that, you might have drowned. And [after a moment's reflection] you shall any how, if you won't give your word to let those niggers go." There was no time to be lost, and Butts, fearing that he might be left to perish, said—"To tell the truth now, I don't own the niggers ; if I did, I'd let 'em go. I'm only the agent." "Well," said the man holding the axe of deliverance or death, "take the irons off them, any how." That Butts agreed to do, and the opening being enlarged, he crawled out, and began to inquire with some anxiety, "Where's them d—n niggers?" and was much gratified when he found that only the baby was lost.'

FRIGHTFUL ACCIDENT ON THE SEABOARD AND ROANOKE RAILROAD.

The Richmond *Dispatch* gives a full account of a terrible accident which occurred on the above road, near Weldon, N. C. A letter from the latter place says :—

'The accident occurred about sixteen miles south of this, near the station known as Margarettsville. The tressel work at that place is some thirty feet high, and had long been regarded as very insecure ; in fact, the engineer had just "shut off" steam, intending to cross at a slow rate of speed, when the engine left the track, and was followed by the whole train—consisting of an express car, a baggage and mail car, and two passenger cars. Before any of these on the train had time either to reflect or act, it was found that the cars were on fire, and, horrible to relate, no less than four persons were literally roasted to death in the flames. Every car was also entirely consumed. Even the wood work on the locomotive, and the entire mail and express freight, were so thoroughly destroyed, that nothing remains but a pile of ashes, with here and there a brass lock, to mark the scene of devastation.

'Mr. Wm. T. Daughtry, the U. S. Mail Agent, and a most amiable and worthy gentleman, was so nearly consumed that he was only identified by his watch, which, strange to say, was wholly uninjured, and running. Mr. D. leaves a wife and six children in Norfolk.

'Mr. W. G. Kilkelly, one of Adams & Co's Express Messengers, running between Baltimore and Augusta, Ga., was in the mail car at the time of the accident, and was so burnt that nothing was found of him but a few charred bones. The amount of express matter was unusually large,—some six or seven tons—every portion of which was burnt to ashes. Mr. Kilkelly resided in Goldsboro', N. C., where he leaves a wife and four young children.

'In the same car were two boys from Portsmouth, who were in the habit of travelling up and down the road, selling books and newspapers to passengers. One of these named Cox, was probably instantly killed. The other, a lad named Cary, was alive when extricated, but breathed his last immediately on being brought to the air. Both were dreadfully burnt and bruised.

'These are all who were killed, and all were at the time in the mail car.'

Several persons also had limbs broken, and were otherwise severely injured. The number of passengers was unusually small, not exceeding twenty, which was a very fortunate circumstance, for had the train been crowded, as usual, the loss of life must have been terrific. This accident is believed to have no parallel in railroad history, save the terrible disaster in France some years since, when by the train taking fire, many lives were lost.

The Norfolk *Argus* says that foul play is suspected with regard to the breaking of the tressel work, a train of forty heavily laden freight cars having passed over it on Saturday in safety.

KANSAS LEGISLATURE—GOV. ROBINSON'S MESSAGE.—*St. Louis, March* 12.—The correspondent of the *Republican* telegraphs that the Kansas Legislature met and organized at Topeka on the 4th inst.

Gov. Robinson's Message reviews the history of Kansas, and endeavors to justify the action of the Free Soil party. He says : 'It is understood that the Deputy U. S. Marshal has private instruction to arrest the members of the Legislature and State officers for treason, and that in such an event no resistance will be offered.' He adds : 'Let what will come, not a finger should be raised against the Federal authority until there is no hope of relief but revolution. Exposed as the people are to the scalping-knife of the Western bordererers, and bowie-knives and revolvers of the Eastern, a thorough organization of the military is called for.'

A correspondent at Easton telegraphs as follows : 'The Free State Legislature has adjourned to Lawrence, and was in session there on Saturday, the members fully determined to carry out their measures. Gov. Shannon has gone there to ascertain what is being done. Violence is apprehended, but there is little excitement along the border. One hundred Sharp's rifles and two cannon have been intercepted at Lexington, and will be held subject to the order of "Governor Shannon."

KANSAS MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL. General Pomeroy, of Kansas, who has been sent to the North to solicit aid for the people of his territory, and has addressed meetings in different parts of New England in favor of his mission, had a meeting in Faneuil Hall Thursday evening, last week. Mr. John M. S. Williams presided with much dignity and ability, and very feelingly introduced the speakers to the audience, which was a very large one. Gen. Pomeroy made the first speech, which is the same that he has repeated before, with regard to the wrongs of the people of Kansas, and the necessity of giving them material aid and assistance. Mr. Conway, formerly of Maryland, but now of Kansas, had a speech, which, though consonant with the views of the audience, was considered to be rather too long for the occasion. Rev. Mr. Wolcott, formerly of Providence, (R. I.) made a short and very effective speech. Judge Smith, formerly of Pennsylvania, but now of Kansas, followed in a speech which was not appreciated by the audience, who left the hall rather promiscuously during his address. Other speakers followed, but no resolutions were offered.—*Courier.*

☞The Albany *Evening Journal* reports that a movement is on foot, in Madison county, to send one hundred men to Kansas, with Sharp's rifles in their hands, and the plough and sickle among their baggage ; and that Gerrit Smith says he will stand in the gap for all the expenses of this contribution to the cause of freedom. It is added, that he has already given largely to this cause through Boston agents, and that, on being informed that a recent remittance of $250 had been invested in rifles, he said, as did Henry Ward Beecher, that 'in the cause of human freedom, Sharp's rifles were moral agents, which it was his duty to supply to those who were compelled to use them.'

'SHARP IS THE WORD.' The *Daily Advertiser*, alluding to the telegraphic report that a hundred rifles were 'intercepted at Lexington, Mo., on their way to Kansas, says, 'These arms were undoubtedly a part of those which have been forwarded from various places in the West and in New England for the use of the settlers in Kansas.' It adds :

'It is whispered here, that if they were part of the New England contingent, they were pieces *without locks*—these necessary appendages to rifles, and to the modern light field-pieces, having safely arrived in Lawrence before the more cumbrous barrels. They will be little use, therefore, to those who "intercepted" them.'

☞Passmore Williamson and Prof. Cleveland, as we learn from the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, were appointed, not long since, a committee to receive subscriptions in aid of the Kansas settlers, to enable them to maintain their ground against the invasion of the 'Border Ruffians' ; and had already, on the 4th inst., secured upwards of $1500 for this purpose, all contributed by citizens of Philadelphia. It was hoped the sum would be doubled in time to make it available for the impending crisis.

CHARLESTON, S. C., March 15th. A large meeting to promote emigration to Kansas was held last night. An address and resolutions were adopted, declaring slavery to be a political element of the confederacy, and inseparable from the present system of government. They claimed the right to promote emigration to Kansas as private individuals, but disclaimed any state attempt at armed intervention in the affairs of Kansas. A committee was appointed to collect funds in aid of the cause.

WASHINGTON, March 17. A gentleman, just arrived from Kansas, reports that Gov. Shannon was twelve days reaching the border territory from St. Louis. He was detained three days on the river bank, in consequence of the obstruction to navigation by ice. The Free State Legislature assembled before Governor Shannon reached the place of meeting. The gentleman added to has no doubt, judging from information obtained there, that the officers of the new government have, ere this, been arrested by the Federal authorities.

ST. LOUIS, March 18th. The Kansas correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat*, writing from Topeka, March 7th, says that in joint session of the Legislature on that day, Gov. Reeder was elected, on the first ballot, U. S. Senator for the term of six years, and Gen. Lane, on the second, for three years. Each candidate received 38 votes, 56 members being present. The Legislature, which organized on the 4th inst., was still in session on the 8th, and the letter makes no mention of any anticipated time for adjournment.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

In General Assembly, January Session, A. D., 1856.

This General Assembly, having their attention called to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise ; the difficulties in the territory of Kansas ; the questions of the existence of slavery in the territories, and of its exclusion therefrom by positive law ; and of the future non-admission of any slave State into this Union without a provision in its Constitution forever excluding slavery in such State ; and other matters relating to the political topics of the day ; by communications from the Legislatures of other States, and by a communication from his Excellency the Governor of this State :

And having considered the same, do

Resolve, That the proviso in the Act of Congress admitting Missouri into the Union, known as the Missouri Compromise, which was adopted to allay an alarming excitement which threatened to disturb the public peace, and to produce a sectional collision resulting in civil war, and threatening a dissolution of the Union, was made by the antagonistic parties in good faith and with patriotic motives, and that its repeal by the thirty-third Congress was a signal violation of honor, of justice, and of plighted faith :

That Congress having authority to pass an act declaring that slavery shall not exist in the territories, is imperatively called upon to exercise that right without delay :

That the atrocious interference of citizens of Missouri, and others not resident in Kansas, with the organization of that territory, deserves the indignant rebuke of the legislatures and people of that State ; and that the State of Missouri is bound to disavow all participation in these acts of violence and outrage, without delay, or suffer the obloquy due for such flagrant violations of justice, law and right :

That in the contest between liberty and slavery upon the soil of Kansas, it is the duty of the free States to resist this new aggression of the Slave Power by all legal and constitutional means ; and to speak through their legislatures, and to act through their representatives in Congress in such manner as will secure the blessings of liberty to all the settlers upon that soil once deemed to be consecrated to freedom by an irrepealable law :

That the conduct of the present administration in remaining passive when the people of Kansas were overborne in their elections by an invasion of intruders from a neighboring State, and in again permitting these intruders to carry civil war to the homes of peaceful settlers, and in its denunciations of those settlers for standing on the defensive when their rights, their homes, and their lives were thus invaded and threatened, affords conclusive evidence of its intention to make pretexts for forcing slavery into Kansas, in violation of the rights of its people secured to them by the act organizing that territory, and that such conduct deserves the reprobation of all who love justice and hate oppression, and the hearty, united opposition of all who prefer freedom to slavery.

That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use all honorable means for securing the civil and political rights of the people of Kansas, by endeavoring to procure the passage of laws which shall make void the enactments of the pretended legislature set up and established by the horde of lawless invaders, and for quieting the present excitement and agitation through the country by the admission of the State of Kansas into the Union at the earliest opportunity, with a Constitution prohibiting slavery or voluntary servitude except for crime.

These Resolutions have been passed by the Legislature.

MELANCHOLY. As a leap year party, consisting of nine couples, were crossing the river from Rushville to Beardstown, Ill., in a sleigh, the sleigh sunk near the centre of the river, and all were lost.

On Friday noon, a steam engine in a saw mill at Oakdale, Indiana, exploded, killing four persons and wounding three. The building was entirely demolished.

Fast Day. — Gov. Gardner has appointed Thursday, the tenth day of April, to be observed in this Commonwealth as a day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer.

☞A giant negro, worth $1500, was shot dead in the cars, near Charleston, S. C., the other day, by the accidental discharge of a pistol which his drunken master was playfully pointing at him.

A Half-Ton Porker.—The Roundout *Courier* mentions a gigantic carcass of a hog, on exhibition in market at that place, last week. It was, says the *Courier*, 9 feet 2 inches in length, and 7 feet 4 inches girth, weighing 1040 lbs. in the clear. Its age was two and a half years.

Slave Hiring.—The bill to prevent citizens of Virginia from hiring slaves in the District of Columbia has passed both branches of the Virginia Legislature.

☞Roger Sherman, in his 88th year,—probably the oldest male resident in New Haven, died on the 5th inst. He was a son of Hon. Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

☞Chicago is a fast place, as every body knows ; but, rapidly as its population increases, the votes at the ballot-boxes beat it. At the recent municipal election, 500 votes were returned from one ward more than the whole number of legal voters therein, and all these were for the Democratic candidates.

☞The Cincinnati *Gazette* says that it cost $22,400 to catch and carry back the fugitive slaves from that city. Four hundred deputy marshals were under pay twenty-eight days.

☞Gov. Chase, of Ohio, has promptly issued his official requisition, calling on the Governor of Kentucky to deliver up, according to the Constitution, the four persons, under indictment for murder, who were flagitiously rescued from the custody of the Sheriff of Cincinnati, by the Judge and Marshal of the United States, on the pretext that they were fugitives from slavery.

☞The bill to establish a patrol on the Ohio river, to prevent the escape of slaves, in the Kentucky Legislature, has been referred to a special committee. Mr. Nuttall advocated the bill. He said $100,000 worth of slave property had escaped from the border counties since Christmas.

A New Phase of Southern Slavery. — A gentleman residing in Richmond, writing to his friend in this city, says :—'The number of free negroes who have applied to the Legislature this winter for the privilege of choosing masters and becoming slaves has been so great, that a general law has been passed permitting them to do so. They are mostly those who have been slaves, but have been emancipated. The reason they give is, that they cannot provide for themselves, and want masters who will provide for them in return for their labor.'—*Boston Traveller.*

A Colored Speaker of the House of Representatives.—The *Independence Belge*, a paper of extensive European circulation published at Brussels, has the following remarkable intelligence, under date of Feb. 21st, 1856, which must have produced a sensation among its numerous readers :—

'The new presiding officer of the House [Congress of the United States—Mr. Banks] is a *black* man from Massachusetts, who belongs, as his color sufficiently indicates, to the extreme Abolition party.'

So, too, according to *La Patrie*, of Paris, 'Mr. Banks is a negro,' and 'in his double quality of a man of color and an abolitionist, has inspired a profound aversion in the Southern representatives.'

Macaulay.—The enormous sale of the new volumes of Macaulay's History in England, has been exceeded by the sale in the United States. We learn that Messrs. Harper and Brothers, who paid the author £300 for early sheets, sold 73,000 volumes of their different editions in the first ten days. The London publishers are said to have paid the author £16,000 for the volumes now published.—*N. Y. Com. Adv.*

Earthquake in San Francisco.—A violent shock of an earthquake was felt in San Francisco on the morning of Feb. 15th. The people were aroused from their sleep, and hundreds frantically rushed into the street in their night clothes. The shock lasted some twenty-five seconds, and was preceded by a rumbling sound like distant thunder. No material damage was done to property.

Earthquake in Japan.—The clipper schooner Page arrived at New York on the 13th inst. from Japan, bringing news of a terrible earthquake which occurred there on the 11th of November, at 10 o'clock, P. M., which destroyed 100,000 dwellings, 54 temples, and 30,000 inhabitants. A fire broke out at the same time in thirty different places in the city. The earth opened and closed over thousands of buildings with their occupants. The buildings of Jeddo are chiefly of one story, and constructed of very light material. The temples of worship, however, are lofty, and in some instances are constructed of heavy masonry.

Poor Barnum.—At the examination before the Supreme Court of New York, of P. T. Barnum, Esq., in relation to his property, he made statements which show him to be in a much worse condition pecuniarily than was supposed. In answer to questions put to him, he stated that he had sold his furniture and plate at Iranistan, which cost him $10,000, for $2,000; that he had disposed of his five valuable horses for as many hundred dollars ; that his piano-forte was mortgaged for all that it was worth ; that he had but two suits of clothes and twenty-five dollars in cash ; and that his only present means of gaining a livelihood was by keeping a boarding house on Eighth street.

Cincinnati, March 18th.—Judge Burgoyne has just decided that a Commissioner has no constitutional right to act in fugitive slave cases, and that all such acts are null and void.

☞The late L. B. Leavell, of Elkton, Ky., by will provided for the emancipation of several of his slaves, and disposed of the entire residue of his large estate, said to be worth at least $200,000, to three or four of them, who, by the provisions of the will, are to be removed to the city of New York as soon as practicable.

☞The Court of Common Pleas at Philadelphia decided on Saturday that no divorce had ever been granted to Rev. Rufus W. Griswold.

☞The Cincinnati *Gazette* has been shown a private letter from Cassius M. Clay with reference to his failure, noticed a few days since. He says his creditors have allowed him to go on, and he will be able to pay all his debts, and have a handsome estate left. He did not lose a dollar this season in the pork trade.

☞In the Senate, March 17, Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, reported a bill authorising the people of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Government preparatory to her admission into the Union, when she shall have the requisite population.

New Hampshire Election.—Two hundred and nineteen towns foot up as follows :—For Wells, 31,498 ; Metcalf, 31,979 ; Goodwin, 2,337 ; Scattering, 141. Ten towns remain to be heard from, the returns from which will not materially change the relative vote as given above.

Another of the Prize Children Dead.—Willie Herbert, youngest child of Mr. J. B. Berry of this city, died on Thursday last, aged thirteen months and nineteen days, being the fourth of the prize children at the exhibition in the Music Hall last fall, that has since deceased.

☞The snow is so deep in Peru, Berkshire county, that the dwelling-house of Mr. Cone, one and a half stories high, is so completely covered by a huge drift, that it has been found necessary to dig a tunnel thirty-seven feet in length, from the front door, in order to give persons inside a chance to get out.

A Fish Item.—Upwards of forty tons of fresh codfish were carried over the Boston and Providence Railroad, to New York, on Saturday last. The fish were packed in one hundred and seventy boxes.

The Covington Outrage.—It is stated that four of the persons supposed to have participated in the outrage upon Mr. Babb have been arrested, and will have a hearing this morning. Others engaged in the affair have left the place.

Mr. Babb is getting along very well, though he has not been out since the day he was injured. His left cheek bone is fractured, the fracture stretching from the socket of the eye down towards the mouth. With this exception, he is in usual health.—*Cincinnati Gazette, 4th inst.*

P. S. Five of the ruffians who were engaged in the outrage upon Mr. Babb, the *Gazette* reporter, were brought before Mayor Foley, of Covington, and fined, respectively, as follows, viz : John P. Butts $50 ; Joseph Hall $45 ; John Hardin and A. B. Fisher $22 each ; and Henry Wilson $18.

ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have issued the following Tracts for gratuitous distribution :—

No. 1. *The United States Constitution, Examined.*
No. 2. *White Slavery in the United States.*
No. 3. *Colonisation.* By Rev. O. B. Frothingham.
No. 4. *Does Slavery Christianize the Negro ?* By Rev. T. W. Higginson.
No. 5. *The Inter-State Slave Trade.* By John G. Palfrey.
No. 6. *The 'Ruin' of Jamaica.* By Richard Hildreth.
No. 7. *Revolution the only Remedy for Slavery.*
No. 8. *To Mothers in the Free States.* By Mrs. E. L. Follen.
No. 9. *Influence of Slavery upon the White Population.* By a Lady.
No. 10. *Slavery and the North.* By C. C. Burleigh.
No. 11. *Disunion our Wisdom and our Duty.* By Rev. Charles E. Hodges.
No. 12. *Anti-Slavery Hymns and Songs.* By Mrs. E. L. Follen.
No. 13. *The Two Altars ; or, Two Pictures in One.* By Mrs. Harriet B. Stowe.
No. 14. *'How Can I Help to Abolish Slavery ?' or, Counsels to the Newly Converted.* By Maria W. Chapman.
No. 15. *What have we, as Individuals, to do with Slavery ?* By Susan C. Cabot.
No. 16. *The American Tract Society

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

FRANKLIN'S PROCLAMATION.

Says Franklin, says he—'We have learned that our foes
In Kansas endanger the public repose;
That, within and without, they're pursuing a course
To direct and control the elections by force;
Combining, without any adequate cause,
To resist and subvert territorial laws:
Such a course, if pursued from within, all must see
Constitutes insurrection'—says Franklin, says he.

'Now, therefore, I, Franklin'—says Franklin, says he,
(While the North bends before him on suppliant knee,)
'Do issue, to every man in the nation,
The following potent and grave Proclamation—
To wit:—Be it known, that I herewith command
All unlawful intruders at once to disband;
For each outside endeavor to make Kansas free
Constitutes an aggression'—says Franklin, says he.

'If the fury of faction'—says Franklin, says he,
'Disregarding the popular sovereignty,
Is to fill all the country with ceaseless alarms,
And bring on the dire arbitrament of arms,
It shall be, between lawless attacks, on one side,
And conservative force, by the other applied,
With legal authority, wielded by me,
As the head of the nation'—says Franklin, says he.

'I call on all people'—says Franklin, says he,
In the slave States and free States at once to agree,
To busy themselves with their own private cares,
And refrain from all meddling with Kansas affairs:
Admonishing all, that till order 's restored,
Justice waits with her scales, but forgets not her sword,
And that all interference most surely will be
Withstood at the outset'—says Franklin, says he.

'I invoke one and all, now'—says Franklin, says he,
In this land of the brave and this home of the free,
To let little evils, like slavery, rest,
Till conviction comes home to the slaveholder's breast:
To say not a word of unrecompensed toil,
But freely to welcome the slave to their soil;
And to join with their master, whoe'er he may be,
In upholding the nation'—says Franklin, says he.

'Then our people, in quiet'—says Franklin, says he,
'Shall recline in the shade of our own vine and tree;
The wilderness then shall bloom forth as the rose,
And nought shall disturb us, or break our repose;
All fears for our country shall then be allayed,
And none shall molest us, or make us afraid:
No nation shall then be so happy as we,
And *I will rule o'er you*'—says Franklin, says he.

Auburn, N. Y.

For the Liberator.

MUSIC.

'Whence hast thou the might of thy master spell?
Speak to me, voice of sweet sounds, and tell.'
—HEMANS.

Oh, the gift of song is a priceless dower,
A heavenly guerdon, a spell of power:
How it moveth the soul by its magic sway,
As the flower-buds ope to the morning's ray!

And holy and pure should its tones ever be,
The echo of truth, gushing forth bright and free,
An angel-tone, hushing dark passion's wild storms,
As in our dream-visions float heavenly forms.

And when Grief's dark shadows brood o'er the heart,
And it museth alone, from the world apart,
What a holy calm, what a peaceful rest,
Sweet music brings to the troubled breast!

And music, too, echoes the voice of Joy,
The heart-anthems free from grief's sad alloy;
'Tis the carol of childhood, the blessing of age,
The chant of the toiler, new light to the sage.

And when the soul would commune with God,
By the prayer of faith and holy thought,—
When it strives for the good, the pure and true,
And the inner life with strength to renew;

Then the soul seems dowered with the gift of song,
Its native voice gushing forth pure and strong,
And the spirit seems breathing its own native air,
As it soars with the anthem, or thrills in prayer.

Oh! will not song be the language of heaven?
And will not power unto *all* be given,
To join in one harmonious strain,
Love, peace and joy, the blessed refrain?

Barre, 1856. CARRIE.

For the Liberator.

THE DESOLATE.

'Then he bethought himself of his utter destitution, and replied—'It is true that *I have lost all*, but I have worked many years, and I have now some strength left, and if they would give me back my wife and children, I would forget it all, and cheerfully begin life anew.'
—*An incident in A. M. Powell's Lecture.*

Lone before me stood the stranger,
In his meekness, all alone,
With the heart-dew on his eyelids,
And a sorrow in his tone;
Yet with courage he said to me,
(Courage that no grief could shake,)
'I am going to a far land,
Where a better home I'll make.'

Mournfully I looked upon him,
And in tenderest accents asked,
'Without gold how can you purchase,
And your strength so overtasked?'
Then at once the thought crept ov'r him,
Of his cruel, bitter fate,
And he felt his destitution,
Knew he was so desolate.

But he turned his eyes upon me,
As with blanchéd cheek he said—
'Ah! I know my life is wasted,
All my manhood's years are fled;
That my strength of bone and sinew
I have given to another—
That my heart-blood has been flowing
Daily, for my white-browed brother!

But my veins are not quite empty,
Not quite useless are my hands,
And with courage I might labor
In a free and happy land,
If I had my household darlings
Playing round my cabin hearth,
And my gentle wife's sweet smiling
Silvering out the weary earth!

But, sir, (and his weak voice trembled,)
Over wave and stream they are,
Toiling in their chains and shackles,
'Neath your sunny stripes and stars!
There no father claims his children,
There no husband seeks his wife,
There he cannot save his hearth-stone,
Though his heart break in the strife!

Ah, sir! for the strength they've wasted,
For the red blood they have shed,
For the iron nerves they've broken,
And the death-blows they have sped,
I forgive them—they are nothing—
But the precious smiles I miss,
And the heart-strings they have broken—
Can I e'er forgive them this?'

Then the stranger, old and lonely,
Slowly turned his face away,
And I wondered in his sorrow
If he ever thought to pray?
For his home would be so lonely,
And so dark the path he trod,
That I knew no heart could help him,
But the loving heart of God.

F. W. GILLETT.

Birmingham, Michigan.

THE LIBERATOR.

THE SECTARIANISM OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TORONTO, C. W., March 8th, 1856.

'United, not bound.'—*N. P. Rogers.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

DEAR FRIEND,—I have carefully read what you have said in reference to my letter on Sectarianism. A *reply* to my arguments you did not deem necessary. Whether it is sufficient to refer my charge of sectarianism, against the American Anti-Slavery Society, to 'morbid tendencies, which do not come within the scope of reason or argument,' I am content to leave to the more reflecting of your readers; but for the sake of the less thoughtful, I will point out a few of your mistakes.

You represent me as occupying an isolated position, as being unpractical, and as opposed to coöperation. Many hands, you say, I regard as making 'bad work,' as well as 'light work.' The isolation is nothing more than the 'come-outerism' you have done much to promote, in spite of your sectarianism. It is the position which every reformer, ever since the world stood, yourself included, has been obliged to occupy, in order to do any good. Unpractical, to fall back on individual conviction for the law of duty, and to discard all second-hand guidance? 'Our mediatorship is indispensable,' quoth all the priesthoods, to lead to God,—as they falsely pretend; they never do other than to hide from the soul his presence. It is not *many* hands I object to, but *bound* hands. I would have *free* hands *for* coöperation—that coöperation may be possible.

One very noticeable item of evidence which you marshal in proof of my 'morbid tendencies' is, that I regard 'free thought as entitled, at all times and in all places, to a limitless range.' I wonder how it could be free thought, if it was not limitless. Do you seriously wish to have thought, or the expression of thought, or the expression of thought, limited at any time or in any place? The *President* of the Anti-Slavery Society might wish it, but surely not the Editor of THE LIBERATOR. How can it possibly be limited, but by slaveholding instrumentality? Have you some better way of regulating thought and speech than by that of self-regulation? My objection to chairmanship over a meeting is the same as that of the first Quakers. Had they continued true to the spirit as well as to the letter of the objection, rejecting all mastership, in deed and in truth, as they still do in profession, they could never have degenerated into a sect.

You inquire, 'In what does the sectarianism of the American Anti-Slavery Society consist?' I have pointed it out very plainly in my letter, and your paragraph of eulogy is all irrelevant, if designed to obviate the force of my charge. It is the *limiting* by other than self-imposed limits which constitutes it a sect,—the self-same article which gives to Popery all its power of mischief, and which alone constitutes slavery.

You say I 'brand the Society as sectarian because it does not ask the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, &c., to yield one jot or tittle of their peculiar theological views,' as the condition of their coöperation. No, I do not say that. But I brand the Society as sectarian, because it says the sectarian ware shall not be examined or its qualities tested on its platform. I charge it with being sectarian and unjust in subjecting slaveholders to a discipline from which it promises to screen its own coadjutors. If sectarian peculiarities are honestly held, they are ready for inspection at any moment; if they shun inspection, it is because they are not honestly held, but held by the same tenure that the slaveholders hold their slaves, by the power of darkness. The moral condition of soul which stipulates for the guardianship of darkness, is not of the quality to influence slaveholders, reared in luxury and idleness, to liberate their slaves, to accept of conventional poverty, and to take to working for their bread.

In sending my letter to THE LIBERATOR, I was not aware that I was sending it to the organ of the anti-slavery sect, but to what, in contradistinction from such organs, is characterized as a 'free paper.' I have of yore 'tried my luck' in other sects, and have got a good acquaintance with the family. I am in no danger of mistaking mole-hills for mountains. I believe I have considerable power of 'just discrimination' in those matters. I know the difference between sectarianism and freedom. I also know the difference between old sects and *young ones*. The old ones are stronger and have longer teeth, and having lapped blood oftener, are more savage than the young ones,—that is the difference.

Yours, as ever, very truly,
GEORGE SUNTER, JR.

P. S. CORRECTION. In my former letter, for 'a clear *conscience* and fair play,' read 'a clear *stage*,' &c. G. S., JR.

LECTURES OF MISS HOLLEY.

COVENTRY, Anthony Village, R. I., February 11th, 1856.

FRIEND GARRISON:

We have just had a refreshing shower of the Anti-Slavery Gospel in this vicinity. SALLIE HOLLEY has given us four lectures. She came to Coventry on Thursday last, and lectured in the Baptist Church;—the audience was rather small, on account of the weather. Friday evening, she spoke in the Old Fellows' Hall, Riverpoint, Warwick. (This appointment was made in consequence of our having been refused the Methodist Church at Centreville, about a mile from the Hall.) There was a large and attentive audience. Many persons were present from Centreville, who extended a pressing invitation to Miss Holley to lecture there on Sunday evening, in the house that had been but a day or two before been refused, assuring her that the order had been rescinded. An appointment was accordingly made for Sunday evening. Sunday afternoon, she lectured in a hall in Phœnix Village, to an intelligent and attentive audience—rather small, on account of its being church service time. The question was put to one of the audience, 'How did you like the discourse?' The reply was, that the only objection he had to it was, that it was the truth.

Sunday evening. About 7 o'clock, we arrived at the church, (the one which had previously been refused,) found it well lighted and warmed, and well filled by an intelligent audience. The desk appeared to be guarded by three clergymen. We had a long prayer from one of them,—a Mr. WILCOX, I believe,—with but very little if any reference to the lecturer or her subject. I must say, I rather feared for Miss Holley under these circumstances, but I soon found I had no cause to fear, for the inspiration of God, I believe, possessed her soul, to speak the words of truth in soberness, earnestness and meekness. Had her discourse been analyzed, it would have been found to be as radical as any speech of the most 'ultra' abolitionist; but it was listened to with candor, attention and apparent acquiescence by the audience. Much depends upon the manner in which the truth is presented in its taking hold of the heart and conscience. SALLIE HOLLEY, I think, is blessed with an organization peculiarly adapted to her vocation, and may God bless her, and the cause she advocates!

Mr. Lyon, the officiating clergyman, who was in attendance at this meeting, is said to be a good Abolitionist, and I know nothing, nor have I heard any thing, to the contrary.

Yours, for humanity,
PELEG CLARKE.

THE NEED OF LABORERS.

Extract of a letter from A. J. GROVER, of Illinois, to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., dated EARLVILLE, Feb. 29th, 1856.

Never was there more need of laborers in the anti-slavery cause—never was there a more auspicious time. The struggle in Kansas has awakened the people to the great issue between the friends of Liberty and Slavery in America. They are more willing to hear on the subject than ever before. The resolutions of the late Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society were extensively published and circulated here in the West. Even the Chicago *Times* copied several of them, and remarked that they set forth the only honest and consistent anti-slavery position,—yet it seemed to them, of course, the height of fanaticism. A change is rapidly coming over the spirit of our dreams, as a people. The late victory of the North over the South in the election of Speaker, though unimportant in itself, I think is very significant of progress. So far as I know, it is the first instance, in the whole history of our Government, in which the North have triumphed in a contest with the South. If Wisconsin should succeed in sustaining herself against the Federal courts in the Booth case, there will be another victory, of most vital importance. If Pennsylvania triumphs over Judge Kane, in favor of Passmore Williamson, there will be a third victory. Nothing can be more cheering to the friends of Disunion, than to see the State and Federal courts coming into collision, on the question whether man has the right to hold property in man. I believe with Mr. Phillips, that here is where the question must be first met, practically. There is nothing so important, politically, to the free States, as the right kind of judges. If the people can get the judiciary of the free States on the side of liberty, a great point will be gained. To this end, the Eastern States should go to work and have the mode of appointing judges changed from the Executive to the people, as is the case in most of the new States. This would have a remarkable effect in changing the *law* in certain cases. The servant is as his master. Let the people make themselves masters of the judiciary of the State, and your Judge Shaws would change front when a Sims or a Burns asks for a *habeas corpus*, to snatch himself from the claws of a Commissioner Curtis.

From the Spiritual Telegraph.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE.

STUYVESANT INSTITUTE, Feb. 27, 1856.

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS said:—On Sunday evening last, I made a proposition that the friends should assemble on this occasion, to consider the propriety of having two platforms, or two places of public meetings, in the city of New York: one for the discussion of spiritual phenomena in all their bearings, and the other for the discussion of principles, in all their bearings upon human nature, in this world and in the other. The three great articles of faith which (without forming a creed) are certainly adopted by all Spiritualists in the United States, are:

First, That man, as to his internal, is an organized Spirit.

Second, That after the event called physical death, his Spirit, preserving its individuality, and all its endowments, goes forward and gains a higher and better state of existence.

Third, That after having become acclimated, so to say, to that world, and acquainted with its customs, and the great recent discovery that a communication can be had with remaining relatives, that Spirit comes back and demonstrates its existence; and we enjoy not only social harmony, but also occasionally have moral and intellectual feasts at spiritual tables.

Hundreds there are in the churches who believe these articles under various names, and in different forms and modifications. Now, persons who come to Stuyvesant Institute, to hear a lecture on Spiritualism, expect something on one or all of these articles of faith; and if they do not hear that, which is sometimes the case—if they do not hear any thing concerning them—scarcely hear the word 'Spiritualism' mentioned—they feel disappointed, as they have a right to, because they are not instructed when they come in a condition of mind to receive such instruction. They go away, saying that they have not received what they asked for—that they knocked, and it was not opened! This arises from the fact that, in order to have *a free* platform and have no sectarian rules, we have had miscellaneous speakers. Persons coming under the name of Spiritualists have felt impressed to speak concerning the movements of the nineteenth century, or—to take my own case—to speak as I did, on one occasion, concerning the organic developments of nature. Persons coming to hear Spiritualism, when I should thus speak, would of course be displeased, because they would not get what they expected; and the next evening, their places would probably be occupied by persons who feel an interest in such subjects, and Spiritualists would wait till some accredited speaker on Spiritualism should occupy the stand. I have therefore found disaffection among our own friends, and in persons who, not having received what they came to get, have ceased to come at all.

I propose, then, in order to meet the wishes of the several classes of minds, to establish in the city of New York, a place where it shall not be considered out of order for those inspired to do so, to speak concerning philosophical or scientific questions, or to give us a lecture on literature, art, industry, agricultural chemistry, anatomy, physiology, music, or any thing to be thought of in the whole realm of human interest—a place where, in a respectful manner, every social, political and ecclesiastical form and reform may be fully and freely and dispassionately discussed. Such a platform would be incompatible with a systematic explanation of Spiritualism *per se*. To have such miscellaneous subjects brought on to this platform, in order to maintain the reputation of not being proscriptive, would be defeating the very object of our meetings. I know that there is a vast deal of inspired talent in the United States—in Boston, in Concord, in Maine, in Pennsylvania—in persons not yet committed to the phenomena of Spiritualism, because not yet convinced—who, in fact, have no inspiration to speak upon the question at all—who, nevertheless, have great truths, it seems to me, to impart to the masses; yet they will never come to a platform which is understood to be committed to Spiritualism.—Though its advocates and chairman may repeatedly protest against defining what a man shall say, often declaring that a man shall be free and responsible for his own statements, yet, the audience will never be convinced that if they came to hear Spiritualism, they should be contented with something very different. Yet, as people of New York and having relatives in the country, we are losing the grand nineteenth-centural fact of a platform for the full and free discussion, by intelligent men and women, of the great subjects which are not suggested, as I take it, by the three points of spiritual faith. I therefore suggest that we play *into each other's hands*—that Spiritualists bring a tremendous array of proof, that MAN IS A SPIRIT, that the Spirit continues after death, and comes back to communicate with friends in this world. Let us bring these facts, as our cartmen bring bricks, and then let us have philosophers to put these bricks into a human temple of Reform. Spiritualists, as I see them, are not working consecutively for a great human regeneration. Spiritualism, I know, is breaking up the creeds and institutions of the land, but they are driven out into the field of investigation with scarcely a principle of interpretation by which they shall understand a chemical or physiological fact, with the understanding of scarcely a principle by which such facts are governed. My mind being attracted to the discussion of positive principles before phenomena, and as they explain the phenomena, I feel irresistibly impressed with the idea that we must have a philosophical as well as phenomenal platform, and, without sectarianism, communicating freely with each other. For the man who comes here, Bro. Tiffany, for instance, may desire to speak next Sunday morning on questions pertaining to Spiritualism, which would convey much instruction to the people; but suppose that in the evening his discourse should be on the influence of the conscience of the American people upon the institutions of the world, he would have hardly a sentence in which to bring out the phenomena of Spiritualism, in order to interest the people who have come to hear of that subject; yet the advertisement in the *Telegraph* or the *Tribune* would be —'Spiritualism. Joel Tiffany will lecture at the Stuyvesant Institute,' etc. The people come, and hear a lecture upon the relations of the American conscience to institutions, and scarcely hear the word 'Spiritualism' mentioned, and they necessarily feel disappointed. Now, the other platform would be the place for friend Tiffany, in the evening; and perhaps I would have a lecture exactly adapted to the people who come here. My object, therefore, is to augment our power by a sort of systematic and consecutive effort to indoctrinate the city of New York with Harmonial Principles, and then, by inoculation, the country abroad. I find bands of reformers who have, so to say, nobody to own them. They are working in isolated groups, and in consequence of their detachment from the great principles of common nature, they seem to be doing about 60 per cent. of good and 40 per cent. of evil. It is solely owing to the lack of harmony of movement. I have in mind, as an instance, the Free Churchmen, whose leader is Theodore Parker. There is probably no person in the United States who has such a mighty influence to-day upon the Protestant Church, and through that upon the Catholics of other countries as well as this. At the same time, there is only a certain class of persons interested in him, and all other questions are eclipsed. There is a strange school of inspired rebukers of evil, whose leader is William Lloyd Garrison. There are none so capable of scolding the United States as Mr. Garrison, and those brave men and women who are marshalled under his banner. He is doing a vast work in the way of disciplining the people, and forcing them to stand on their own feet—really more for this than for the slave of the South. At the same time, I think there is an injury done to Massachusetts, and to all the Union, from the fact that his movements are not pervaded by the universal spirit of adoption, which a great and beneficent philosophy ought to have. The consequence is, that we in New York, and he in Boston, though seeming to work for the same grand purposes, do not come together, while unwholesome and mischievous misunderstandings exist concerning us. Lucretia Mott, who stands at the head of the Progressive Friends' movement in Pennsylvania, is not expected to speak in any place in this city, so far as I know, except in the Friends' meeting-house. I want these opposite reformers to come forward and lay what they have upon the table of our free platform. The only way is to be acquainted with the stirring principles of reform, which all these candid men and women possess to a greater or less extent.

Now, Spiritualism is the fourth, the grandest, the most important movement of the nineteenth century. At the same time, there is a lack of unity of effort, which I, for one, yearn to see in the minds of all who adopt its three articles of faith. I know not how we can bring together the Free Church movement of Theodore Parker, the Slavery Reform movement of which Mr. Garrison is the representative, the Progressive Friends' movement represented by Lucretia Mott, and the Spiritualistic movement represented by thousands in the United States, except by having it understood, that while in one place in New York, the phenomena of Spiritualism shall be indoctrinated into the people, and the evidence for Spiritualism and its uses presented, in another place, we shall have the discussion of those principles by which mankind, through the united instrumentality of these different movements, shall be elevated and harmonized, as contemplated in the Lord's Prayer, 'Thy kingdom come on earth,' as enjoyed by the inhabitants of higher spheres. If we are what we believe we are, let us commence a systematic, not a sectarian, effort to bring about something permanently good in the world. I have conversed with hundreds of Spiritualists, and the most intelligent are in favor of this harmonial principle of uniting the now isolated reforms. At the same time, it is impossible to satisfy the wants of a great mass of fresh-born Spiritualists, by speakers who feel inclined to the platform which I am suggesting; and I see that a great mass of Spiritualists are in need of the thoughts which would be there offered.

Mr. Davis here read a series of resolutions, embodying the general principles of the Harmonial Philosophy, and also the following preamble and resolution, more particularly relating to the subject under consideration:—

Whereas, owing to the recent development of many and various progressive *Ideas* which demand interchange of thought and free discussion, we deem it to be wisdom to adopt improved methods for the acquisition and impartation of knowledge; and believing *true inspiration* to be universal and perpetual, and confined to no particular age, or personage, but received by the *representative* minds of both sexes in Science, Literature, Art, Philosophy, Spiritualism, History and Reform; and believing, also, that the PUBLIC ROSTRUM should, and will in due time, supersede the private pulpit as a channel of transmitting instruction to the masses; and, whereas, we earnestly desire to fraternize with the progressive and spiritualized TALENT of America, and all other countries—available *talent*, which we cordially invoke to aid in the world-wide effort of human enlightenment and social unity; and, whereas, we pray to be instrumental in the discovery and dissemination of *all facts*, both physical and spiritual, and in the promulgation of universal *Truths*, both terrestrial and heavenly; therefore,

Resolved, That we quietly organise, and constitute of ourselves, an 'Inner Circle,' with the integral design of establishing in the city of New York, a PEOPLE'S LYCEUM.

Dr. HALLOCK did not intend, nor wish to say anything adverse to the suggestions of Mr. Davis, for he thought that each individual should work in the field which seemed to him the most attractive. For himself, he felt inclined to labor in creating a recognition of that internal structure more substantial than the external body, but of whose existence we were but just receiving knowledge. Of the millions inhabiting our planet to-day, very few had the lightest philosophical consciousness of possessing within them an immortal organic structure, which will survive to the latest time. He would trace the failures and mistakes of men to the fact that their actions were put forth in ignorance of this fundamental fact. How is a man to be supposed capable of living a true life, who has not the slightest knowledge of what constitutes it? He can only approximate it by conjecture. If the failures which have characterized fragmentary reforms in all ages of the world are due to ignorance of this fact, then, evidently, the true reform must be based upon a recognition—a feeling of the Divinity stirring within us. It is only upon such a basis that reforms can every hope to come to a successful termination.

Dr. WELLINGTON felt much interest in the principles illustrated in the phenomena of Spiritualism, and took much interest in the meetings designed for their presentation. He was not, however, indebted to the manifestations for his convictions with regard to spiritual existence. The persons in whom the spiritual phenomena have produced the greatest impressions, are those technically called 'reformers'—those who have been engaged in loosing the prisoner's chain, in instrucing the world in the application of the principles of love to the relation of master and slave—those who have formed a party to progress in the Church—those who claim to be instructed so much that they have been branded as infidels—inquiring men and women who have loving hearts.

Mr. Davis's suggestion met the views of the speaker He rejoiced in the present meetings, because they lay a platform that, God helping, will make every man an Abolitionist, and nothing short of it—and every man an Associationist, willing to use his property, his strength, time, reputation and influence to help, not the man who can help himself, but the man who *can not* help himself—willing to help the woman who is deprived of her rights, the woman, black or white, whose children are stolen from her.

Dr. WARNER considered it a mistaken idea that the platform of these meetings was simply for the discussion of Spiritualism in its phenomenal aspects. The definition of Spiritualism by Mr. Davis did not satisfy him, and he did not know that any definition which he had heard met his view of it. He did not feel capable of giving it a definition which would correspond to his conception. Diverse views of Spiritualism were taken by different classes of Spiritualists, and by those who were not Spiritualists. To his mind, Spiritualism was all that it had been defined to be, and more too; it was table-moving and rapping—it was science, philosophy and religion. To him, Spiritualism appeared to be the principle, the essence, the science of life.

He did not know that it was in order for him to express approbation or disapprobation of Mr. Davis's propositions, though he did not see that he [Mr. Davis] proposed to accomplish anything new. There was nothing to prevent any special reformer taking this or any other room, and setting forth his special ideas. He did not see that Mr. Davis proposed to do anything further than to furnish facilities for the sectarian reformers of the day to prosecute their favorite schemes.

A GENTLEMAN did not understand Mr. Davis's proposition to be for a Spiritual Lyceum; nor did he understand that Spiritualists were necessarily advocates of abolitionism, or any other points named by him, but that he [Mr. D.] considered them to be matters of reform, and that he should like to see some place established where they could be discussed. He did not agree that Spiritualists must necessarily be Abolitionists and Temperance men. If that were the case, he had been making slow progress. He had been attending the Spiritualists' meetings to see if he could not become a Spiritualist; but if he were to have saddled upon him all the *isms* of the day as a consequence of becoming a Spiritualist, he must come to a dead halt. Though he could not call himself pro-slavery nor anti-temperance, yet he would not wish to be classed with what are generally understood to be Abolitionist and Temperance men.

Mrs. MARY F. DAVIS said: We have heard reformers spoken of here this evening, and I wish to say one word on the same subject. In our day there are such persons as Ernestine L. Rose and Lucy Stone Blackwell, who represent a certain reform which we call 'Woman's Rights;' there are others, like William Lloyd Garrison, who represent the Anti-Slavery reform; others, like Theodore Parker, represent a theological reform; and others still represent a political reform. Thus every reform has its representatives; and it is necessary, as has been said, that there should be a platform where these reforms can be freely discussed.

Now I wish to inquire whether, while the present arrangement continues with reference to the rental of Stuyvesant Institute, it would be considered relevant to the cause of Spiritualism, that the individuals I have named should be invited to address the Spiritualists of New York, from this platform, on Sundays. They have great thoughts to present to the world, and it is always beneficial to listen to such mighty and stirring thoughts. Would it, then, I repeat, be relevant to the cause of Spiritualism, that they should be invited to lecture here, or must we have another platform on which they can stand and promulgate their sentiments!

Mr. MINTZER was in favor of another platform—considered each system a stepping-stone to harmony; that there should be a platform broad enough for the consideration of all the different branches of reform.

WILLIAM GREEN, JR., said he would propose, as a means of arriving at such mental freedom, that Mr. Davis be authorized to take the management and control of the Lyceum, the plan of which he has presented, and that he deliver lectures on the Harmonial Philosophy, etc., and thereby prepare the public mind for the advent of other speakers and representatives of the different reforms. Futhermore, I suggest that we obtain a commodious Hall in or near Broadway, at our private subscriptions, and that all the speakers be remunerated upon the voluntary principle—i. e., by free contributions by the audiences at each meeting, as is customary among most congregations.

ANDREW J. GRAHAM said, that a very cogent reason for the establishment of such a platform was the fact which had been remarked upon, that *reformers especially need reforming*—in the opinion of the speaker, for the reason that they were *inharmonial*, each reformer attaching undue importance to the branch of reform in which he was engaged, at the same time that he underrated or absolutely hindered other reforms which deserved his sympathy, and whose in-forming principle was identical with the basis of his own reform.

Although no action was had upon the resolutions presented, as none was contemplated, yet it is generally understood that the friends of the Harmonial Philosophy have concluded to go forward with the People's Lyceum, in accordance with Mr. Davis's plan, the general features of which were set forth as above by Mr. Green.

From the New York 'Life Illustrated.'

EVERETT UPON WASHINGTON.

Miss Austin, in her Life of Addison, relates that the extraordinary success of the tragedy of Cato, on its first production at Covent Garden Theatre, was owing in some degree to the party spirit of the time. The Whigs applauded its liberal sentiments, because they claimed to be the liberal party, *par excellence*, and because they thought by the vehemence of their applause, to point Addison's denunciations of tyranny at the rival party. The Tories, however, baulked this attempt by applauding the very same passages to vociferation. Thus it happened that the play created nightly an apparent *furore*. For once, pit, boxes and gallery seemed to be struck with admiration of the same sentiments. For once, peers and populace were in accord.

Something similar to this has lately occurred among ourselves. There is a party among us which claims to be peculiarly 'American.' That party, of course, makes much of Washington; and rival parties, to show the world that they are just as 'American' as the American party itself, if not more so, strives to out-do the American party in the frequency and fulsomeness of its adulations. The consequence is, that the popularity of Washington, at the present moment, is immense. If he were only a tragedy, he would make a manager's fortune, as was shown the other evening at the opera-house, when Mr. Everett gave him in the form of an oration, and drew the greatest crowd ever seen within walls in this city.

What a thing is reputation! There are one hundred men in New York who could make a better speech about Washington than Mr. Everett's. The subject is absolutely a new one. It has never been touched by a competent hand, except in the way of eulogy,—which profiteth no man. Jefferson came nearest treating it worthily; but he, too, was evidently overawed by Washington's reputation. Mr. Everett had a superb opportunity to compose an instructive and discriminating discourse upon a fresh subject. He did nothing of the kind, nor can he. Edward Everett is a man of wood. He is respectability personified. He never rises for a moment from rhetoric to eloquence, from plausibility to TRUTH. He went on quite in the old way—drawing false portraits of Washington's contemporaries, and winding up each portraiture with the superfluous assertion, that 'our Washington' was no such person as *that*. He gave the audience his idea of Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon the Great, and informed us that Washington was a very different man from either of these personages, and, in fact, much better. This proposition was received with faint applause. He also achieved the original observation, that Washington was more remarkable for the harmonious wholeness of his character than for any one prominent trait; but there needed no Everett to come from Boston to tell us that. The general coldness with which the oration was received struck us as a sign of progress. The time has been when the eulogistic style of oratory was completely satisfactory to a miscellaneous audience.

The spectacle presented by the house, on this occasion, was very striking. The street was blockaded by the crowd two hours before the advertised time of beginning, and in ten minutes after the doors were opened, every seat and standing-place were occupied. Just before eight o'clock the curtain rose, revealing a stage full of the white-haired and black-cravatted magnates of the city. Soon after, Mr. Everett entered, leaning on the arm of the President of the Mercantile Library Association, and was received with considerable applause. He is a slight man, with a ruddy countenance and white hair. He is perfectly at his ease, and goes about his work in an unpretending, business-like way. He gesticulates freely, while delivering the more highly wrought passages, and keeps his hand in a ceaseless quiver that becomes at length disagreeable to nervous people. Mr. Everett is just the man to please the respectable and the conservative—the men of property and the clergy. To those who look in a public instructor for advanced ideas, moral courage, deep convictions, and, above all, artless sincerity, Edward Everett is a disappointment.

The audience, on this occasion, behaved like a many-headed monster. It almost refused to hear Mr. Bancroft extol, in high-flown phrase, Mr. Everett's high-flown performance. The unlucky historian, anxious to make himself heard, pitched his voice in a key which the Many-Headed thought proper to consider ludicrous. It laughed outright. Mr. Bancroft's eye happened to fall upon the benevolent countenance of Washington Irving, who sat in the parquette, and he alluded to the fact in his speech. Straightway the house resounded with calls for 'Washington Irving.' Mr. Irving never speaks. He is as modest as he is beloved; and so the house called in vain. Mr. Bancroft sat down in a semi-frustrated condition. The audience was *very* impolite—it seemed to have an idea that the whole affair was contrived for a purpose, and that the great name of Washington was merely the pretext.

From the North Adams Weekly Transcript.

THE LECTURE OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The lecture of Mr. Phillips, last Friday evening, was listened to with the most intense gratification, by the largest audience yet assembled in the course. The subject was the 'Lost Arts.' His design was to show, that in nearly all those arts which minister to the comfort of mankind, the Ancients were equal, if not superior, to the Moderns. This he abundantly proved by facts. In the illustration of his subject, he assembled and displayed a great variety of curious facts. The selection of these facts, so appropriate and fascinating; the simplicity of the method by which they were arranged; the crystal clearness and exquisite elegance of the style in which they were conveyed; the courtly grace and ease of manner—these constituted the leading attractions of this most admirable performance. For more than an hour and a half he held the large audience in hushed delight. He resorted to no vulgar tricks of oratory,—no ranting or mouthing, no attempt at display. Mr. Phillips does not belong to the 'Spread-Eagle School'; he is simply natural and sincere, and that is sufficient to charm any audience. As he passed from topic to topic, and from one class of facts to another, it was like turning a Kaleidoscope,—every turn flashed a new and more brilliant combination. In the hands of a common speaker, that subject would have been insufferably dull; but in his, with that faultless taste, brilliant learning, and artistic nature, it was invested with magical interest.

The close was solemn and thrilling; and here he revealed the real superiority of the Present over the Past—that with the Ancients, knowledge and art were confined to the few, and were lost in the convulsions which toppled the thrones of power, and engulphed the treasures of aristocracy; whereas, with the Moderns, it was the possession of the millions, and thus could never be lost, because so many were interested in its preservation.

We were struck with one incident, which could not have escaped his observation. When he entered the room, there burst forth, instantaneously, an expression of welcome and applause. There was a significance in this not to be mistaken. It started among some fifty students from Williams' College, who had come over to hear him, but before he reached the stand, it was general, and resounded from every part. This was not elicited by Wendell Phillips, the lecturer, but by Wendell Phillips, the classic orator of freedom, the champion of the trampled millions, the advocate of emancipation. It was the tribute of the young and brave to the knightly courage, glorious eloquence and unflagging zeal he has exhibited against the colossal villanies of the age.

Such incidents, slight though they are, indicate the current of feeling and the tendencies of opinion. They must be gratifying to one whose finely-toned nature can so keenly enjoy appreciation and sympathy, but whose fortune has been, in the advocacy of despised truth, to receive an unusual amount of public hatred and abuse.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL. Everything that facilitates the escape of slaves has been pronounced unconstitutional. In this view of the case, we allege the freezing over of the Ohio River as decidedly unconstitutional, and we would call the attention of Congress to this matter. It breaks down one of the middle walls of partition between Slavery and the Gentile land of Freedom, and slaves are availing themselves of this unconstitutional freak of the weather and river, and making their escape without any compunctions of conscience. We hear rumors of numerous escapes, and so insecure is slave property regarded now, that many masters near the river are sending their slaves into the interior for safe keeping. The moral character of Jack Frost and the tendency of his actions need investigation. The Lynchers of Brady should examine into this matter, as it is doing more against the peculiar institution than he ever did. Where is Shawshawhearem and the rest of the Pottowatomies?—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

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CHARLES E. WARE, JOHN HOMANS.
GEORGE HOYT,

I have full confidence in the preceding recommendation of Dr. Ware and others. HENRY J. BOWDITCH.

I concur in the above. J. C. WARREN.

I add my name in full confidence to the opinions of the above gentlemen. EDWARD REYNOLDS.

Boston, March 13, 1856.

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Nov. 16. tf

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